

# **KASHMIR**

## **DISTORTIONS AND REALITY**

**Dina Nath Raina**



This book is at once a sharp departure from the prevailing pattern of writing on Kashmir. It gives the inside account of what actually happened during the last four years and is not a partisan publication. Facts have been revealed in the larger national interest. Many prevalent assumed notions about territorial and political aspects of J. & K. State have been nailed. Strategic importance of Kashmir for the defence of India in regard to China has been fully established. The so - called third alternative has been blasted. The genesis of terrorism and insurgency as also suppressed realities and deceptions, illusions and distortions have been thoroughly discussed. Pakistan's actions since partition for disintegration of India through its operational base in Kashmir have been unveiled. The heart - rending and tearful story of genocide and forced exile of innocent original natives of the Valley has been narrated. The alarming consequences of disappearance of ray of light, seen by Gandhiji in 1947, on India's present nationhood with its likely frightening fall-out has been lucidly described. The rationale of Ekta Yatra, its positive effects as also oposition to it, are critically analysed. The sensitive and basic issue of violation of human rights in Kashmir has been discussed thoroughly along with its international ramifications, world-wide coverage and potential exposive material for black-mail. Some cases of gruesome killings by the terrorist gangs are also included in the Appendix.







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*Dedicated*  
*to the memory of*  
*my father Mahatma Maheshwar Nath*





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## P R E F A C E

For the last nearly four years, Kashmir Valley is under terror, shedding tears and facing trauma. A handful of fundamentalist separatists in the miniscule Valley, under the command of Intelligence Agency of a neighbouring country, have been holding by neck the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir. The motivation is pan-Islamism and the instrument is Jihad, which has a wide connotation. Kashmir is regrettably the only perfect model of apartheid in the Indian Republic. The apartheid is manifest in the tortuous treatment and forced exile of the little group of tiny community of original natives of the land professing a faith different from that of the overwhelming majority.

The people in the vast regions of Ladakh and Jammu are very eager to come closer to the rest of the country and share its sorrows and happiness as members of the same family. These regions are neither involved in present terrorism in the valley nor have they any consideration for the sinister objectives of the separatists. Indeed they are vehemently opposed to it. These two regions have nevertheless their own aspirations, expectations, loyalties and, of course, problems and with that their understandable disappointments. Ladakh has been clamouring for being taken over as a Centrally-administered Union territory. In Jammu, the intensity of the feelings of the people for a complete unequivocal and unconditional accession to India is manifested in their pressing demand for freeing the accession from any conditions and artificial barriers such as Article 370 of Indian Constitution.

In my earlier book "Unhappy Kashmir - The Hidden Story", while concluding the preface I had said: "An in-depth study of these hidden facts should enable the people in general and policy-makers in particular to learn from past blunders and act timely and decisively to prevent the looming national disaster." Has the purpose been served as I had wished? The present situation may be summed up in a Sanskrit phrase: "Yadasthanam pradishtya bhayami". (We are exactly where we were). In fact, situation has worsened. What happened in Bombay on Black Friday, March 12, 1993, will stay in India's history as national shame. Nowhere in the world has any city suffered the misfortune of 13 powerful bomb blasts - a ll in a span of two hours or so. A massive building of critical importance to the country's prestige and economy went up or caved in like nine pins in the explosions of unparalleled destructive power arranged at regular



intervals of time and space on a single day. A Friday in the Muslims' fasting month of Ramazan at mid-day time prayers when most of them were in mosques, safe from the dangers of war-scale bomb operations. It started from Ahmedabad, devastated Bombay and brought havoc in Calcutta. As the planning appears alphabetical, one has to keep one's fingers crossed as to the fate of "D".

These blasts were not a sudden development. In July, 1991, some anti-national elements had thrown a sophisticated plastique bomb on a house in Khalse village of coastal Maharashtra. The blast was so strong that it woke up villagers 7 km away. The local police said arms spare parts and ammunition were smuggled along the coast and were assembled in an illegal jungle factory. Immediately afterwards, Mr. A.R. Antulay, M.P. and a former Chief Minister of Maharashtra brought this incident to the notice of the Home Minister of India. There was neither response nor action. The tragedy of Black Friday has shown how incompetent, inefficient, impotent, indifferent and irrelevant the Government of India has rendered itself.

Those who have been holding sway in India since independence have their well-known techniques which include slandering authros whose factual account is inconvenient and ensure that facts are sunk down by chorus of denials. Truth alone lives has come to mean that what is allowed to live will automatically become the truth. Our ruling establishment as also dominating media men are having a fixed mindset in regard to Kashmir. Neither the ground reality nor any amount of genuine arguments affect this mindset even slightly. When Dr. Johnson was told that the doctrine of Bishop Berkeley, that matter was non-existent and that everything in the universe was merely ideal, was only ingenious sophistry but that it was impossible to refute it, Dr. Johnson with great alacrity answered striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone till he rebounded from it saying, "I refute it thus".

Tragedy of Kashmir owes its origin to blunders of our leaders after independence. They unfortunately overlooked the sign-posts and took wrong turns. That speeding proved suicidal on mountain roads. But shelter was taken under banality, ambiguity, inanities and what is worse disinformation. Indian people have been fed on lies and illusions. Facts and situations about Kashmir have been twisted on the fond hope that tomorrow may be alright'.

We Indians have a tendency to get carried away by the status of a person. Popular sentiment or our fear or respect for him/her plays havoc with our judgement and faculty for critical appreciation. As a people we



lack sense of history and what passes for history is generally a mixture of myth-making and sycophancy. Our biographies are nothing more than eulogies. Leaders have to be blindly glorified and any reference to their lapses is considered to be in bad taste. In fact, so glaring is the national despair and helplessness over the unending insurgency in Kashmir that any assesment which goes against the grain of conventional wisdom is brushed under the carpet. Faced with the collapse of a much trumped up experiment in secularism, the supine Indian intelligentsia and political monopolists appear determined to pretend to be unembarrassed. Unwilling to accept reality, the Indian political establishment has been paralysed.

There is utter confusion in Government in regard to this over-riding national problem. Commenting on dreadful blasts in Bombay and Calcutta in March, 1993, the Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao attributed these to an attempt by India's enemies to obstruct our economic reforms. The fact is the enemy is working to break India and not just disrupt economic activity. The bomb blasts are part of Pakistan's proxy war against India in Kashmir. Abraham Lincoln after his election as President of United States said: "I have been selected to fill an important office for a brief period am now in your eyes, invested with an influence which will soon pass away. But should my administration prove to be a wicked one or what is more probable, a very foolish one, if you the people are true to yourselves and the Constitution, there is but little harm I can do, thank God." These cautioning words of Lincoln to the people of America are appropriately and very pointedly applicable to the people of India more particularly at this critical juncture.

Editorials even front-page ones, countless articles in the media and large number of books have spared no pains in justifying what has been done or not done and what has been happening in Kashmir. They have had their say in this country which guarantees freedom of speech to every one. It is time now that cold facts are allowed to speak for themselves. This book presents a new agenda for nation-wide action and may be taken as the Nation's own White Paper on Kashmir. From the point of independence of thought and fearless presentation of facts, the books is not a partisan production. I have not been influenced by fears of wounding either individuals or classes. Those whom I may have offended must bear with me, in consideration of honesty and disinterestedness of my aim. I have written dispassionately and without prejudice. I have not allowed desire to dictate conclusion or hope to masquerade as judgement. My only purpose is to force attention of the indifferent and casual reader to the issues that are dealt with in the book. I would request the



reader to set aside the irritation, if any, and concentrate his thought on tremendous issues discussed in the book. My aim is to stir up the average Indian, who is complacent if not somnolent, who is unsuspecting if not ill-informed, to realise what is happening. If any written word is not acceptable factually or otherwise, critics are free to launch a convincing "rejoinder" through the same print media. That is the tradition and ethos of this country. I have tried to break new ground. My approach is unconventional and unorthodox. And I leave the conclusions to the readers.

I feel pleasure in expressing my gratitude to the tri-lingual magazine, "Koshur Samachar", Amar Colony, New Delhi-24, which has been a source of inspiration and information to me.

New Delhi  
August 1, 1993

Dinanath Raina



## Chapter - 1

### Territorial and Political Analysis

"When speaking is duty silence is guilt"

Maharaja Gulab Singh, one of the most remarkable soldier-statesman that India had produced in nineteenth century, was the founder of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as it existed in 1947 before the Pakistani invasion in October that year. One of his distinguished Generals, Zorawar Singh conquered Ladakh, Baltistan and Western Tibet. General Zorawar Singh's expedition began in 1834 and culminated in 1841. Since Kashmir Valley was not under Gulab Singh at that time, the route to Ladakh and beyond followed by Zorawar Singh was through Kishtwar, Padar and Zaskar. It was more difficult but much shorter than the route passing through Kashmir Valley. The Valley of Kashmir had been under sikh kingdom of Lahore. Consequent to signing of two treaties: Treaty of Lahore (9-3-1846) between Sikh kingdom at Lahore and Gulab Singh and Treaty of Amritsar (16-3-1846) between Gulab Singh and the British, Maharaja Gulab Singh was recognised as an independent ruler of all territories already in his possession together with the Valley of Kashmir, which till then formed a separate province of Sikh kingdom of Lahore. Kashmir Valley was then controlled by Sheikh Imam-ud-Din as Governor appointed by Lahore Darbar. He was secretly instructed by Lal Singh, the Prime Minister of Lahore darbar, who had personal enmity with Gulab Singh, not to hand over the possession of the Valley to Gulab Singh. Therefore, Gulab Singh's army faced stiff resistance when it reached Kashmir to occupy it in terms of the Treaty of Amritsar. Lakhpat, one of the top Generals of Gulab Singh, lost his life during the unexpected encounter. Thus, Gulab Singh had to resort to superior and effective force to get the Kashmir valley in spite of his claim to it under the Treaty. On behalf of Lahore darbar, one Nathu Shah was controlling Gilgit. He transferred his allegiance to Gulab Singh, who now became the master of Gilgit as well. By 1850, Gulab Singh had become both de facto and de jure master of entire Jammu region including Poonch, Rajauri and Bhimber, Kashmir Valley, Ladakh, Baltistan and Dardistan including Gilgit. The States of Hunza, Nagar and Ishkuman adjoining Sinkiang were added to the State by his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh.



Maharaja Gulab Singh welded together such diverse and far-flung areas as Jammu bordering on the Punjab, Ladakh bordering on Tibet and Gilgit bordering on Sinkiang, Afghanistan and Central Asia across the Pamirs. The events and circumstances leading to the birth of Jammu and Kashmir State made a heterogeneous conglomeration of diverse and distinct areas devoid of any type of unity, geographical, social, cultural or linguistic except obedience to a common over-lord - the Rajput Maharaja. From linguistic and cultural point of view, this vast and varied area, whose only unity lay in a uniform and unified administrative system under the dogra rulers, could be divided into six distinct peoples with a distinct past. A proper appreciation of this basic distinction, among the peoples and the regions, is essential for a proper understanding of the Kashmir problem, as it developed after partition of India in 1947.

**Jammu region:** This is the homeland of the founder of the State as also of the Hindus popularly called dogras. It is directly contiguous to Himachal Pradesh. The language of the region is dogri, which includes some Pahari dialects and is written in Devnagri script.

**Ladakh:** To the north of Himachal Pradesh lies the extensive plateau of Ladakh. The people of Ladakh are Buddhists. The Kargil district of the region contains Shia population. The language of the region is Bodhi or Ladakhi.

**Baltistan:** This is the third distinct region inhabited by the Balti people. It lies to the west of Ladakh. Baltistan was conquered by Maharaja Gulab Singh along with Ladakh between 1834 and 1841. People of Baltistan have a distinct social and cultural life and speak Balti language. This region was over-run by Pakistani troops after a protracted war in 1948.

**Gilgit:** The fourth distinct region is Gilgit which is known as Dardistan. The region includes the tributary States of Hunza, Nagar, Chilas, Punial, Ishkuman, Kuh and Ghizar. The people belong to the Dardic race and are closely connected with Chitralis in race, culture and language. They are mostly followers of Ismaili sect headed by the Agha Khan. This region was conquered by Maharaja Gulab Singh's son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh between 1846 and 1860. Thousands of dogra soldiers lost their lives in the campaigns that led to the conquest of this inhospitable but strategically very important region. The whole Dardistan including Gilgit has been merged with Pakistan and is governed by the Pakistan Central Government. This area has not been included even in the so-called "Azad Kashmir". Pakistani President General Zia-ul-Haq had declared that these territories which includes the Silk Route that



connects Pakistan to China, might have once been part of Jammu and Kashmir, but now they are part of Pakistan. The northern areas, which include Dardistan and Baltistan, have already been integrated fully with Pakistan. In a quiet behind the scene announcement the Pakistan Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas has divided these areas into five civil districts - Gilgit, Skardu, Chilas, Gohkoch and Khalpo. The administration of these districts is under Pakistan's direct control and now Pakistan's laws are applicable. During the peak period of cold war when Pakistan was an active member of Western military bloc, Gilgit had been kept at the disposal of the United States of America, who had established here a most modern and big air-base. Subsequently, when India-China border differences developed, Pakistan, to exhibit her inherent enmity to India, handed over to China important territory in the northern portion of this area and also opened the Silk Road which passes through this region and connects Pakistan and China. Gilgit had come under Hindu and Buddhist influence very early. It was part of the Khotan province in Ashoka's empire. A recent find of Buddhist and Sanskrit books near Gilgit confirms this view. A class of people is held in high esteem even now. The people belonging to this class are expected not to eat beef and to remain clean. They were the Gilgit Brahmins before their forced conversion to Islam. Aman Ullah Khan of the JKLF belongs to this area of Dardistan. This is his homeland. He is not a Kashmiri. He is an intruder in Kashmir affairs. His own homeland has been fully and forcibly merged into Pakistan. Even basic and primary human rights have been denied to the people there. They are not even considered fit for local self-government. Aman Ullah never talks of his kith and kin, who have been enslaved in the manner like of which has never been imagined. Aman Ullah had long left his homeland and had settled in U.K. He was picked up by some Western agencies as a "might be needed" person and provided all facilities in U.K., America and Pakistan. It was part of cold war strategy to take up the Kashmir issue, in isolation of India and Pakistan, in case exigency of situation demanded. Otherwise he is not even remotely linked to Kashmir and Kashmiris. His own homeland has ceased to be distinct identity and even a mention of his area sends shiver into his body.

The Punjabi region: The Punjabi-speaking districts of Mirpur, parts of Poonch and Muzaffarabad form the fifth distinct region. This corridor type belt is culturally, linguistically and socially part of Punjab. It is this small area which is called "Azad Kashmir". As a political and diplomatic strategy and to have a distinct base for harassing India, Pakistan has provided a symbolic administrative set-up here. There is a President, the Prime Minister, Assembly and other propaganda stuff but actual strings



are being pulled by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs of the Pakistan Government. The area has remained very backward. The people especially the youngsters here are fed on the promise that sunny days will come when they will have free access to the Kashmir Valley for enjoying good things of life and having everything in plenty. But people here have no affinity with Kashmiris. There has been centuries old tussel between tough and rough Punjabis and peace-loving Kashmiris. They contemptuously call Kashmiri Muslims as "hatoes". These areas, even before 1947, had earned much notoriety as the area perennially infested with bandits. Many of them used to be hatchmen of rival landlords. There were no land reforms there. Numerous landlords became front-rank politicians. The area provided fertile soil for the growth of new generation of mafias during the Afghan war in early Eighties. Narco-terrorism and Kalashikov culture made the area as armed camp/base. Political grip of the Pakistan army is a fact of life in this area. To call this area "Azad Kashmir" is scandalous. Its correct description would be Pakistan-occupied Punjabi-speaking areas of erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir state. A large number of people from this area especially from Mirpur have settled in U.K., U.S.A. and other foreign countries. These people mislead the world by calling themselves Kashmiris and with huge oil funds at their disposal, disinform the West by claiming to be fighting for self-determination of Kashmir. In this regard they talk of North and South Korea, North and south Yemen and even mention the Berlin wall. Some Westerners do take this patently wrong assertion on its face value. These Mirpuris like Aman Ullah Khan, who is a Dardi, take the name of Kashmiris. Now more about Aman Ullah Khan. As a student, he did cross into the Kashmir Valley and studied in a school in the border Tehsil of Kupwara, which was then part of Baramulla district. This was to take advantage of free education and all other facilities which were available on this side. During the hey days of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, hundreds of young boys crossed over this side not only to get free academic education but also get nominated to Medical and Engineering Colleges in India. After getting professional education free of any cost, they migrated to the United States, the U.K. and Arab and Gulf countries. For this the modus operandi was simple. They had to cross the border illegally as strayed individuals, get arrested and then issue a long statement to the effect that living conditions in the Pakistan-occupied areas were appalling and that people were fully disillusioned. They declared their full faith in the leadership and ideology of the National Conference. This was enough to see them through. The same lot have organised themselves in various countries against the Indian nation.



Before partition of India in 1947, these areas had a mixed population of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. But in 1947, Hindus and Sikhs were massacred and those who could escape had to take shelter outside the State. Muzaffarabad district was blooming with Sikh population. They were made special targets of Muslim wrath. Thousands of Sikh women jumped into the river Jhelum and got drowned to save their own honour and that of womanhood. The refugees who escaped from Muzaffarabad district came to Kashmir Valley for shelter. But Sheikh Abdullah, his National Conference and particularly the Communists did not allow these refugees to keep their foot in the Valley saying that they belonged to the Punjabi speaking areas of the State and had no links with Kashmiris or the Kashmir Valley. These people were State Subjects, First Class and bona fide residents of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. But since they did not belong to Kashmir Valley, they were called non-Kashmiris. Thousands of such people who had per force to pass through the Valley to escape the Pakistani fire and terror behind, were pushed beyond the Pir Panchal range across the Banihal Pass. On the contrary, Muslims from Tibet were welcomed with open arms and special arrangements were made for their settlement in the Srinagar city.

Kashmir Valley: The sixth region is the Valley of Kashmir. This home of sage Kashyap who made a breach near Baramulla and thus turned a lake into a valley, has been called the crown of India. The medieval historian Al Beroni has recorded that the Vale of Kashmir was considered as high school of Hindu conscience like Varanasi. The Valley begins at Verinag in Anantnag district and ends at Khodanyar in Baramulla district. Once a seat of Sanskrit learning and "nandanvan", where saints and yogis used to come for contemplation and meditation and learning, is now a predominantly Muslim area.

Racially, the Kashmiris belong to the Aryan stock. The Kashmiri language originally written in Sharda script, a form of the devnagri script, has a rich literature. But under the influence of Islam, this ancient script has been discarded and the language is now without a script. In the absence of a natural script of its own, this language has ceased to be used anywhere in any form. It has been reduced to a spoken dialect only. Time is not far off when this ancient language will be wiped out altogether. Although the Government of India has included this language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and has adopted it as one of the national languages, yet due to the State Government's religious prejudice the language is dying. The officially-recognised Persio-Arabic script has been adopted to placate the Muslims at the cost of the age-old



Sharda script. This Persio-Arabic script is defective and incapable of rendering Kashmiri sounds correctly. It is solely dependent on scribes and calligraphers who are becoming extinct now in the valley. This script has failed to take advantage of even elementary typography not to speak of advanced technology. There has been persistent demand for recognising Devnagri as an alternative script. Devnagri, in fact, has been in use for writing Kashmiri for a long time now not only by Kashmiris who had been forced to migrate from Kashmir, some young and upcoming Kashmiri writers in the valley have also appeared on the scene. The demand for Nagri script has met with stiff opposition from fanatical elements among the supporters of the Persio-Arabic script. Strangely, these very elements pressed for and succeeded in getting Persi-Arabic script adopted as an alternative script for Dogri and Punjabi in addition to officially accepted Devnagri and Gurmukhi scripts respectively.

Kashmir has a continuous recorded history of more than two thousand years. The great Kashmiri historians, Kalhan and Ratnakar have written beautiful stories about Kashmir which apart from their historical value, are great pieces of Sanskrit literature. Lalitaditya and Avantivarman have been among the famous kings of the Valley. When in October, 1947, Pakistan invaded Jammu and Kashmir, its well-planned thrust was on the Kashmir Valley. But Kashmir was saved from Pakistani marauders by the gallantry of a handful of dogra troops led by legendary martyre, Brigadier Rajendra Singh and the swift action of the Indian Army and Air Force. They are real saviours of the Kashmir Valley and they are still the only guarantee of its safety, which is under continuous attack from Pakistan.

It is thus clear that the erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir was a house built by Maharaja Gulab singh, the scion of dogra dynasty and remained intact hardly for one hundred years. The unity of the house that Gulab Singh built, came to an end the moment the dogra raj disappeared. The total area of J&K State is 2.22 lakh sq. kms. Of this, Pak-Occupied area accounts for 78,114 sq. kms. China-occupied area is 37,555 sq.kms and another 3,180 sq.kms have been illegally gifted by Pakistan to China. The area of the present State left free under India is thus 1.01 lakh sq.kms. Ladakh is the biggest division in area with 49146 sq.kms.; Jammu Division occupies the second position with 26293 sq.kms. and Kashmir Valley comes last with 15948 sq.kms. It is a wrong statement and a lie when some people say that Kashmiris have got divided due to India-Pakistan conflict. The Kashmir Valley where Kashmiris have been living from times immemorial, is intact. However, a small, about ten kilometer wide



area, Tithwal to Uri and Uri to Rajouri-Poonch is a non-Kashmiri belt inhabited by Gujjars and Bakarwals. It is a buffer between Punjabi-speaking people of Pak-occupied areas and the Kashmir Valley. People living in this belt do interact with each other on both sides of the Line of Control as the latter cuts across this belt. Area is mountainous and people are mostly shepherds. They live in make-shift mud hamlets on the slopes. Ever since cease-fire was agreed upon in 1949, the Indian Army had been helping these people to have contacts with each other. But when Pakistan sent armed infiltrators in 1965, some restrictions had to be imposed on the free movement across the line of control.

Of the three regions-Jammu, Ladakh and the Kashmir Valley-which are in de facto and de jure control of India, there is no problem about Jammu and Ladakh. These regions should have been fully integrated with the rest of India by giving them the status of a full-fledged state-hood to Jammu and Union Territory status to Ladakh, as desired and demanded by the people of these two regions. As regards Kashmir Valley, Muslims constitute overwhelming population there. A very serious problem has risen in the Valley. Under the Pakistani plan of religious cleansing of the Valley, three lakh Hindus have been driven out from here. They are the original natives of the Valley. They have the primary and valid claim over a part of the Valley where they may be resettled. These Kashmiri Hindus have staked their claim to the east and north of river Jhalum stretching from Jawahar Tunnel to Zoji La pass. They have demanded this 'homeland' to be given the Union Territory status with application of Indian Constitution in full. All Kashmiris were Hindus. A good number of them were converted to Islam by force by Muslim invaders in the 14th century. Many foreign Muslims, Khurasanis and Afghans also settled in the Valley. But that does not negate the fact that seven lakh Hindus who stuck to their original religion against all odds and who preserved the Kashmiris' culture, language and way of life, through the centuries of foreign rule and have primary claim to its soil irrespective of being in minority. India and Pakistan have accepted the cease-fire line between Indian part of J&K and Pakistan-occupied part of it, under the Shimla Agreement of 1972. The cease fire line was given the name of Line of Actual Control (LAC). Cease-fire line was demolished and LAC was modified as a result of agreement between the Army heads of the two countries. Kashmir ceased to be on the U.N. agenda and U.N. observers, who were watching the cease-fire, were withdrawn. Kashmir ceased to be an international issue and became a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. The two countries agreed to solve the issue by mutual discus-



sion and peacefully and in no circumstances use force. The Shimla Agreement was endorsed by the United Nations, the Indian Parliament and the Pakistan National Assembly. It is, therefore, too much to expect Pakistan to agree to part with the area, which is under its firm control since 1948. Therefore, all talk of 'new concept', 'unified independent Kashmir' or third alternative and the like is neither realistic nor practicable. While presenting the Shimla Agreement to the Pakistan National Assembly for approval, Z.A. Bhutto told the Assembly that the right of self-determination had been virtually lost in 1948 when Pakistan accepted the U.N. resolution providing for the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from the area under their control while India had been required to withdraw only bulk of its forces. He reminded his countrymen that in 1964 the U.N. had given a consensus, not a resolution on Kashmir and in 1965 it had refused even to mention Kashmir by name speaking instead of political problem underlying the conflict. Further, Bhutto said if the U.N. had not been able to implement any of its resolutions how could people expect it to solve the issue which had been on its agenda for 25 years. It was after this speech that the Pakistan National Assembly ratified the Shimla Agreement by an overwhelming majority.

The people of Jammu and Ladakh regions and native Pandit population of Kashmir Valley cannot be deprived of the benefit of principle of autonomy and democracy, which is considered sacrosanct for the Muslims of the Valley.

There were two reasons why 'Kashmir', 'Kashmiri' and 'Kashmiriat' overshadowed every other thing in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. One reason was the Abdullah factor. Sheikh Abdullah had an unsatiable desire to carve out a Sheikhdom for himself and his dynasty. He got massive support from the Communists for achieving this aim. Communists had a long-term plan to turn Kashmir into another Outer Mongolia. Communists in those days were working through the National Conference. The Communists leader, G.M. Sadiq, who was also senior National Conference leader himself paid two visits to Lahore and Karachi to seek Jinnah's endorsement to independent Kashmir under the National Conference, led by Abdullah. Jinnah flatly refused to go by this line and warned Sadiq that Abdullah and his Party must close their shop as they had no role. Jinnah expressed confidence that Kashmir was in his pocket. Disenchanted with Jinnah, Communists advised Abdullah to persuade India to agree to an independent Kashmir. Pakistani invasions forced them to agree to some weak link with India. This was due to sheer necessity of escaping from forced annexation by Pakistan. The Commu-



nists who had opposed 'Quit India' Movement and fully supported and participated in 'Quit Kashmir' Movement. While "Quit India" slogan was for British to quit and hand over power to Indians, the absurdity and foolishness of "Quit Kashmir" was quite patent. Maharaja Hari Singh was as much a native of the State as Abdullah himself was. He should have been asked to abandon the throne and hand over power to the people. But asking him to quit Kashmir was mysterious. It only meant that he along with dogra Hindus should leave Kashmir and go to Jammu. Sheikh was wise enough to appreciate that his Sheikdom could be restricted to Kashmir only. As regards native Kashmiris known as Pandits, he had already warned them in 1931 and given them three choices: "Ralliv", "Challiv" or "Galliv": (Get converted to Islam; or leave the State or get killed).

Sheikh's uncompromising demand was that the dogra Maharaja quit the terrain of the Valley for him and yet it was the same Maharaja who had done tremendous work for development of Muslims. Abdullah, who was better educated and well informed, never told his innocent audience that their oppression and suppression was the result of uninterrupted rule of Muslim tyrants for five centuries. He deliberately by-passed the truth that the brief spell of Sikh and Dogra rule had resulted in ending most of the economic atrocities, which had been inflicted on the Kashmiris by pleasure-seeking Pathan tribal rulers from Afghanistan.

After the circumstances made the Sheikh overlord of not only of Kashmir Valley but also of Jammu and Ladakh, he fully utilised the opportunity to create Muslim hegemony, which he called Kashmiri aspirations and psych. He treated Jammu and Ladakh as conquered colonies. The Communists, who had attracted to their cadres many intelligent young persons, poets, writers and artists, launched propaganda blitz throughout the country about Kashmir's "identity" and "Personality". The Cominform, the Communist apex forum provided enormous funds to various Associations, Societies, Councils and Fronts in India for the purpose. Later on, when the Communists realised that Abdullah was in touch with some American officials for carving an independent Kashmir under Western hegemony, they became bitter opponents of the Sheikh. They gloated over and publicly celebrated his dismissal in 1953. For Abdullah, Kashmir's identity and aspirations meant Muslims identity and Islamic aspirations. Like other States the only identity Kashmir could have was linguistic identity. But Sheikh Abdullah killed the Kashmiri language when he declared Urdu to be the official language of the State. Thus, he not only killed Kashmiri language but along with it the Dogri and Ladakhi



languages also. The propaganda has so stuck that even today many political parties, intellectuals, media men talk of Kashmir's identity. Nobody has explained why they pick up only Kashmir for identity. Every State in our Union and every region in our States has its identity and the people have their psych. India is having unity in diversity. It has been our great misfortune that our country has been a victim of dynastic and monopolistic rule after independence. This has resulted in frequent aberrations in the implementation of our Constitution. In spite of the fact that the Constitution lays down well-defined procedures and sphere of activities of both Central and State Governments, people in many States had to resort to agitations on certain vital issues. But the Sarkaria Commission has studied the whole problem and given its recommendations. What is urgently required is the implementation of these recommendations.

Another reason for Kashmir's overshadowing influence was Lord Mountbatten's commitment to Sir Winston Churchill that he would protect the Muslim interests in India even after partition and creation of Pakistan. This was evident from the way he pushed Jammu and Kashmir into the arena of international cold war and later left no stone unturned to try the same in the case of the then princely State of Hyderabad. Had Sardar Patel not taken over the affairs of the Hyderabad State along with other States well in time, after Mountbatten's exit, Nehru-Mountbatten nexus would have inflicted upon the nation a special Article in the Constitution ensuring preservation of Hyderabad's identity. Even after Hyderabad's accession to India, for which India had to send army there, Jawaharlal Nehru repeatedly and persistently talked about preserving Hyderabad's identity, integrity and psych. In substance, it meant the same thing as Muslim identity and Islamic aspirations as in Kashmir. What constituted the State of Hyderabad? It consisted of Telengana, Marathwada and northern Karnataka which included the districts of Raichur, Bidar and Gulbarga. Had not the States' Re-organisation Commission in 1956 strongly recommended the division of Hyderabad State, we would have witnessed the Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, Shivraj Patil, Speaker of the Lok Sabha and Virendra Patil ex-Chief Minister of Karnataka being called Hyderabadis and asked to work for preservation of identity of Hyderabad. Had they not done so they would have been labelled as Communalists. SRC's recommendations were so convincing and forceful that Nehru, though surprised and unhappy, could do nothing to stall these recommendations.



The territorial analysis made here is not just a geographical and physical phenomenon. In a restricted sense, the Himalayas forms the northern mountain wall stretching from Ladakh, Kashmir, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim, Assam, Arunachal, Naga Hills and Manipur. Poet Kalidasa has said in Kumarsambava:

*"Astyuttarsyam dishi devatma  
himalayo nama nagadirajah  
Poorvaparak toyanidhee vagahaiya  
sthitah prithvy eva maandandah"*

(In the North of our country stands the lord of mountains and very embodiment of divinity the Himalaya. Like a measuring rod of the earth spanning the eastern and western oceans).

Swami Vivekananda expounds this shaloka as follows :-

Important words in the verse are Devatma (ensouled by divinity) and Mandanda (measuring rod). The poet implies and suggests that the Himalaya is not a mere wall accidentally constructed by nature. It is ensouled by divinity and is the protector of India and her civilisation not only from the chill, icy blasts blowing from the Arctic region but also from the deadly and destructive incursions of invaders. The Himalaya further protects India by sending great rivers such as Sindhu, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra perennially fed by melting ice and irrespective of the monsoon rains. Mandanda implies that the poet affirms that the Indian civilisation is the best of all human civilisation and forms the standard by which all other human civilisations, past, present and future must be tested.

Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu are in the extreme north of the country and border China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Muslim Republics of erstwhile U.S.S.R.

Karakoram range lies in the north of the Himalayas. The glaciers of Karakoram are some of the largest mountain glaciers in the world. Siachen, the largest glacier is 70 kilometres long. Siachen has assumed great significance because Pakistan has been trying its best for the last several years to overcome this area. In the hostile confines of this glacier, our troops are trained as much for countering the elements of weather as for combating the Pakistanis across the frontier. In a region that taxes both man and machine to the hilt, survival itself becomes a challenge. The



gruelling posting is considered a credible method of heightening the patriotism of our forces. Those who serve in Siachen develop a certain pride of having participated in the most distinctive disposition of troops deployment in the world. Nowhere in the world are troops deployed at such great heights and such a difficult tract. Acclimatisation is induced through week-long road journey from Pathankot to Leh and onward to the Siachen base camp, the trek involving the crossing of three mountain ranges. Another access to Leh is from Pathankot via Manali, Patsio, Sarchu, Upshi and Karu in Kangra Valley. Both these roadways are open a mere four to five months during summer time, remaining snow-bound for the rest of the year. Thus, there is a terrific urgency and hurry to rush over adequate stocks of ammunition and provisions every summer. The mode of air support is basically from Chandigarh to Leh or from Chandigarh to Thoise by helicopters or airdropping from fixed wing aircraft. In the onward trek, one finds that the ground underneath is shifting and breaking into clods of ice as each step is taken. On the right is the trickle of a river and beyond that massive peaks rising vertically to twenty thousand feet and which cannot be seen unless one takes the load off one's back to be able to look up. One trudges on sombrely, concentrating on the footprints of the man ahead, as a wrong step would invite a descent into a crevasse and eternity. The coloured pennants have the effect of puff of oxygen. One takes a deeper breath, gives up upward jerk to the rucksack, moves the goggles up the forehead and willingly increases the steps to keep pace with the lead soldier. Then when one least expects it, on a turn of the riped path, the column suddenly stops and down there are the flags and that small abode of stone and mud structure. Memories of pain, successess, failures and of friends who perished come flooding in, with tears and gratitude to the Divine Master. The loads are off the back, weapons are neatly stacked. Each man gets up, chooses a right-sized stone and places it on the wall that sheilds his group from glacial winds. The fluttering pennants and the glacial provide the only sound in that primeval scene as the soldiers lift up their rucksacks and weapons. The troops are accommodated in fibre glass huts and dug-in-bunkers or snow huts carved into frozen cliffsides. Water is a major problem-it has to be melted out of the snows over kerosene stoves and used before it is deep-frozen again by the winter temperatures of .25 to .40 degrees celsius or the summer temperatures of .5 to .20 degrees Celsius. While a daily wash is well-nigh impossible in these frigid heights, there are occasions when jawans feel like having a brisk scrub. Initially burns sustained through negligent contact with lighted stoves and hot kerosene is rather frequent.



Since water is scarce, one of the many methods the troops have evolved to conserve it is to abstain from shaving. Consequently, all our forward troops in this region bristles and very often it is difficult to make one out from the other.

In these forbidden conditions, even a mundane chore like answering the call of nature becomes lethal. Probably, this is the only activity which draws the jawans out of their quarters for as little as five minutes a day. But often they are forced to flee on account of the sniper fire from Pakistani pickets across the Line of Control. One big problem is how to dispose of the human waste. Chemical treatment is used in Antarctica, but there the team strength is smaller and more manageable. Biodegradation is also out of the question as Siachen is far too cold for microorganisms to be effective. Incineration by kerosene or petrol is also possible but these resources are needed for their more conventional uses. However, we are sure our scientists will soon be able to evolve viable alternatives. Government is reported to have decided to reduce the number of regular infantry troops and replace them with newly-raised units of Ladakh Scouts. This is a welcome decision. It will save on acclimatisation process. Ladakhis are better prepared to face the elements. Acclimatisation is far easier for them. Frequent rotations can also be avoided. Traffic to and from the posts, which is causing serious problems at present, will be comparatively easy.

The strategic areas in the northern parts of Ladakh are Valleys of Nubra and the Shyok. There is another area called Lingtzi Tang south of Dipsang. Here in these high cold plains, the last spurs of the Karakoram gradually subside. In between them are the shallow Valley of Chip Chap, Galwan and Chang Chin Mo, all falling under Shyok. There are numerous lakes scattered here. They contain much salt and soda deposits. Another portion of this region is called Aksai Chin. A Caravan route follows Nubra and Shyok to pass over to Sinkiang over the Karakoram Pass, which is the highest pass in the world. Between the Shyok and the Sindhu, there is the range of Kailash, which extends into Tibet where the famous dome-shaped Mount Kailash, the abode of Shiva is situated, north of Lake Mansarowar. Along the Sindhu runs the Ladakh Range. South of Zaskar is the great Himalayan Range, which in a mighty curve goes into South-East into Himanchal Pradesh. On it there are number of important passes across it, namely, Burzil, Zoji La, the latter leads from Kashmir Valley to Leh and Bara Lacha La and again leads to Leh from Lahoul in Himanchal Pradesh. South of Central Himalayan Range is the Pir Panchal Range. Inside this Range is the Valley of Kashmir. The Range merges



with the Himalayas near Deo Tibba in Himanchal Pradesh. It touches the high Valley of Lahoul, which is drained by the rivers Chandra and Bhaga, which join to make up the river Chandrabhaga or Chenab. Rohtang Pass cuts Pir Panchal. In Jammu and Kashmir there are at least ten parallel Ranges as follows:-

1) The Aghil (2) The Karakoram (3) The Kailash (4) The Ladakh (5) The Zaskar (6) The Great Himalayas (7) The Pir Panchal (8) Dhauladhar (9) The Lesser Himalayas and (10) The Shivalik

Ladakh's strategic importance for the country is paramount. But for the last 45 years, Governments have concentrated on pampering the miniscule Valley of Kashmir. The nation at large appears not only unaware but apathetic to the sacrifices being made by the personnel of our Armed Forces, Indo-Tibetan Border Force and last but not the least the Border Roads Organisation. The 85 km. snow-covered stretch of the Srinagar-Leh highway from Gund to Drass in Kargil is dotted with memorials of the brave BRO men and officers, who were buried alive under the avalanches during snow clearance operations undertaken every year to keep this major road link between Ladakh region and rest of the State open. The B.R.O. has to launch snow-clearing operations every year atop Zojila-one of the world's highest roads bearing about 56 major avalanches. Zojila experiences the heaviest snowfall in the region. Our "intellectuals" never find any time to study the problems of this region. Their vision gets blocked in the Kashmir Valley particularly the city of Srinagar where they find "wazawan" too delicious to think of anything else.

The obscurantist policy of the Indian Government in regard to Kashmir has endangered the security and defence of our country. Looking at the Islamic crescent from the East to the West, it is clear that the fundamentalist zealots are attempting to create a nucleus of an Islamic block extending from China to Turkey and Morocco to Malaysia. Iran's megalomaniac ambition to spread its fanatic philosophy is a major threat. Kashmir is very important to them for this axis. Even without taking into account Islamic axis threat, the real threat exists on account of Pakistan-China border link. Pakistan-China alliance is overlooking the entire northern frontier of India. Mr James Clad, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has stated following his discussions with senior officials in New Delhi that the Indian Government was under tremendous pressure to cede further territory in Kashmir, so that China and Pakistan could feel secure about the road linking the two countries. India is in occupation of Salto Bridge of The Siachin Glacier



and Pakistan forces are only a little distance away facing them. In the Siachen area The demarcation of Line of Control ends abruptly at Point NJ 9482. India's position is that the line must be extrapolated northwards to Siachen glacier, which is located in The Karakoram range to the North-West of Nubra Valley. Pakistan's contention is that the line should extend to North-west of Karakoram pass. This will enable Pakistan to link up with Chinese forces who are at The Karakoram Pass.

There are reports from China emanating from official sources that China is setting up direct air links from Beijing and Hongkong to Lhasa and other Tibetan towns. This daring reform was aimed at ending ethnic separatism and seems to be intended to accelerate the transfer of Chinese settlers to Tibet and drown recalcitrant Tibetans in a "sea of Chinese". It is estimated that Chinese settlers already out-number Tibetans by 1.5 million in the regions of Amdo, Kham and Utiang taken together. Under the covering policy of opening Tibet to foreign investment, hordes of Chinese themselves will swarm Tibet and convert it into a real province of China. China is exporting M-9 and M-11 tactical technology to Pakistan. She is contemplating formal transfer of weapons as well as sale of systems engineering and production information to Pakistan. China is not a member of Missile Technology Control regime (MTCR) which prohibits such exports. Although informally she has agreed to adhere to these restrictions but there are indications that ultimately she will affect the transfer of these missiles as also nuclear missiles to Pakistan. Pentagon may perform the postmortem subsequently but finally the U.S. will also acquiesce. In fact, China is currently engaged in arms build-up and acquisition of advanced technology to further its aim of regional dominance and power projection that may change the balance of power in the region. China has also purchased heavy transport aircraft MI-17 (Hip) helicopters and air to air refuelling capabilities. China has also recently bought 26 SU-27 'Flankers'. She has also made other military purchases with the aim of changing the balance of power in the region. While immediate goal of China is arms build-up but the underlying aim is to gain expertise to develop her own arms.

Both China and Pakistan have become beneficiaries from the break-up of the Soviet Union. The old Red Army's machine guns, rockets, tanks and jets and other weapons are being stolen and sold by the officers and men to whosoever may pay them cash. AK-47 assault rifles and spare parts for vehicles are openly available and shipped to all sides through Sarbia. In the Caucasus, one of the largest military districts of the former Soviet Union, there have been innumerable thefts and



weapon sales. An entire ammunition depot was stolen and resold. Russia's Defense Ministry reported hundreds of thefts from its arsenals during the year 1992. In early 1993, a quasi-private firm in Kharkov, Ukraine, advertised millions of dollars worth of planes, tanks, submarines and rockets. China and Pakistan due to geographical contiguity have laid their hands on bulk of these arms and equipment. China and Pakistan are having close military collaboration. With active Chinese assistance, Pakistan is developing four ballistic missiles with a maximum range upto 600 km. The Brazilian SS-300 missiles' design influenced. The Chinese M-11 Project, which in turn assisted Pakistan's HATF-2 intermediate range missile programme with a range of 300 km and a 500 kg warhead. China is aiding Pakistan in intermediate range missile programme HATF-3 which has a range of 600 km. When Pakistan was active member of Western military bloc against China, the latter had developed deep friendship with Pakistan. China was convinced that Pakistan's anti-China stance was only for getting arms from U.S. and in reality it only wanted to destroy India. It was during India-China honeymoon that the Beijing-Islamabad Highway was built through Karakoram which now hangs like Damocles sword on India's head.

China has developed good working relationship with Western countries mainly via its strong relationship with the U.S., the Jewish lobby and Israel. Israel is being used as a conduit to supply Western weapons to China. With the help of the West, particularly the U.S., (via Israel), China for the first time has been able to deploy short range missiles tipped with nuclear bombs in Tibet. She is also working towards manufacture of long-range missiles. After the Sino-Vietnam episode in 1986-87 and exposure of its military weakness after its dismal performance against Vietnam in 1979, China is taking all possible steps to become a major super power in the world. Actually, China is preparing an arms spending spree to turn itself into a military giant, with a previously weak navy being beefed up to operate beyond her own coastal waters. The airforce is also set to benefit through the import of highly modern fighting planes from the former Soviet Union. An aircraft carrier is also planned to be put on stream, which would boost the power of air force by giving it a sea base. China is also working on acquiring cruise missiles. She wants to fill the maritime vacuum left by the dissolved Soviet Union on the one hand and the withdrawal of the U.S. 7th Fleet from Philippines on the other. Mr Yang Shangkun Chinese head of State, while addressing the military, told them that "enemy forces in the international arena could burn their fingers over China if they do not behave well". An article in the army paper



"Yiefangyunbao" spoke of a strengthened army being "like a tiger with wings and cannot be defeated by any enemy". After the Gulf War in 1991, the Chinese leadership concluded that the most modern technology available should be imported and developed to catch up in areas where they were lagging behind. Beijing is also interested in snapping up MIG-31 planes, as well as rocket ground defence with radar systems. She is also reported to have received Patriot defence technology from Israel, while Iran apparently delivered technology acquired from the U.S. on refuelling in mid-air. China entices Russian arms and nuclear experts with cash offers to do business and the Russian President spoke on a visit to Beijing of good prospects for further weapons deliveries to China. China which until recently was not a sea power of any significance and which could cover only its own coasts has now set in that field also, developing new frigates and destroyers armed with rockets. China is planning to develop three large marine bases. She has also built up island of Hainan near the Spratly Islands. China wants to control international shipping routes in the region. It is also the sole nuclear power in the region. China is aggressively wooing Myanmar and has been granted a base by the Yangon regime in The Bay of Bengal.

It could be a great contribution to mankind if India, Pakistan and China could live as friendly neighbours and develop a similar kind of relationship that countries in Europe have with each other. This can only be achieved if India maintains a military capacity so as to take on both China and Pakistan at the same time. The West uses our inconsequential neighbour, Pakistan as a bait to neutralise India and also push it to sign the N.P.T. so as to make India an impotent country. India must maintain a well-prepared supply of nuclear weapons at all costs. A couple of thermonuclear explosions appears advisable to make China and Western sponsors of Pakistan more friendly to us. India should not remain in-waiting for a catastrophe. In 1962, it was our humiliation but now it will be our destruction.

Part of the military headquarters for south-western China is to be shifted to Tibet. A construction project 10 kms. south west of Lhasa has become the new headquarters for the Tibet military district, which was earlier based near Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province, 1300 kms to the east. The size of the headquarters stretching for more than a kilometre in length suggests that part of China's south western command headquarters - the Chengdu military region - may also be moving to Lhasa. The new site along the road to Gongkar airport consists of about 40, three storeyed buildings each containing about 40 rooms, suggesting it will house upto



15000 men. The new site will not be devoted only to barracks and weaponry facilities, several of which are already stationed around Lhasa, but to the command and administration structure. China has already developed a rapid deployment system to move soldiers into Tibet from inland Chinese provinces at great speed. The military construction outside Lhasa is part of a wave of civilian and military development activity apparently designed to cater to thousands of Chinese migrants seeking new opportunities in the region. In order to facilitate the new developments, Chinese officials had replaced local Tibetan administrators in some rural areas. China is reported using Tibet as a "dumping ground for nuclear and chemical waste" endangering the ecology of the Himalayas from where the rain-water washes over India and from where major rivers of India begin.

In this context the strain on Indian defence positions in the Siachen Glacier complex has increased manifold. Pakistan has already ceded to China the Sahaksgam Valley. This area dominates the Shyok river approach connected to Pakistani Khapalu Garrison. It has become increasingly difficult for India to vacate the glacier and expose the northern area of sub-sector West to future Khapalu and Damsun threats. Ladakh Scouts are confronting Chinese border guards in northern Indira Col-Siachen Complex. Pakistani artillery at Baltoro is close to this Indo-Chinese border complex. Indian troops in this sector are wedged between Pakistan and China. Contrary to the declared policies of the United States, military links between her and Pakistan are continuing. A 63-Member U.S. Army Rangers Team held in March, 1993, a joint military exercise with the Pakistan Army commandos of the Special Service Group (SSG) at Peshawar. The exercise was ostensibly dedicated to mastering high altitude warfare techniques. The S.S.G. has developed an expertise in high altitude warfare and is most regularly deployed in the Siachen theatre. Coupled with the U.S. interest in understanding the dynamics of high altitude warfare is the SSG's need to fully grasp the deployment parameters for a special operations force in terrains like Siachen. With SSG's critical role in Siachen, the possibility also exists of a fall-out on operations there. Unlike India, which is conservative in using its special forces, Pakistan has consistently used the SSG as a spearhead. India has to always keep reality into consideration. China's military capabilities are increasing. Sino-Pak strategic linkages are strengthening. Our Army's internal security responsibilities are on the rise. Therefore, even a thought should never arise for shrinking of assets within formations. The man-power reduction process which began in late 1989 must be aban-



done. The imbalance between recruitment and retirement must be corrected. Washington, Bonn, Paris and Tokyo, who are pressing for cut in India's defence expenditure, must be convincingly apprised of India's defence requirements. China has a standing army of three million men.

India is the only major country which is faced with genuine security threats. She needs nuclear option to constraint both Pakistan and China. India has to develop nuclear weapons and Agni missile to deter China in Tibet. India has been marginalised in the global order while its great neighbour China has been able to create a visibility, because of its belligerence backed by military power. Pakistan seems to have persuaded many Americans that Kashmir is the "core issue" between India and Pakistan and is connected to the nuclear issue. With the growth of its nuclear capability, Pakistan concurrently raised the level of tension and after nearly three decades raked up the Kashmir issue by waging a proxy war. Pakistan has been able to influence America to link her nuclear proliferation as an India-Pakistan problem. Pakistan's military bureaucratic complex, which largely controls her power structure, has succeeded not only in acquiring legitimacy for its nuclear bomb, but also made it credible. The U.S., which kept one eye closed when Pakistan was pursuing its clandestine weapon programme, seems to have reconciled to a nuclear-armed Pakistan, noise about Pressler amendment notwithstanding. One way to deprive Pakistan of the nuclear bomb is the Israel way, destroying Pak nuclear weapon facilities by bombing. The other and the only possible way is to have a double deterrent. Pakistan has been suggesting to have a nuclear weapon-free zone in South Asia. The SARC countries are also supporting it. America has been pressing India to sign N.P.T. Pakistan has also made India's signing the NPT as a condition for doing so. Thus, India is presented as villain of the piece. India's dilemma is not understood and cannot be understood by the West and other advanced countries like Japan. India has to confront a treacherous Pakistan. The very mention of this may be considered ridiculous. But hard experience has taught this to India. In early 1948, Pakistan firmly denied in the U.N. Security Council its Army being involved in the war in Jammu and Kashmir. But when the U.N. Commission was about to visit Kashmir to see the situation on the spot, Pakistan unashamedly officially informed the U.N. Security Council that her army had been fighting the war with India in Kashmir. In 1965, Pakistan sent its Army personnel in disguise and called them "Mujahideen" and later openly pushed its army into Kashmir, violated the ceasefire line and international border in Chhamb on 1st September, 1965 and simultaneously denied any involve-



ment. Its propoganda was so fierce that even the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson blamed India for violating the international border in the Lahore sector while Pakistan had already done it six days before. But ultimately truth prevailed and Wilson regretted his statement and felt sorry for having spoken a lie. Wilson has confessed that he had been wrongly briefed by his Commonwealth Office. He later on found that there was a strong Pakistan lobby in the Commonwealth office. Later, Lt. Gen. R.H. Nimu of Australia, Chief of U.N. Observer Group in Jammu and Kashmir sent his report to the U.N. Security Council blaming Pakistan for violating the cease-fire line. But all this happened after tremendous harm had been done to India's interests. No harm was caused to Pakistan for speaking lies. Even earlier in 1948, Sir Owen Dixon, a jurist of international repute was sent by the U.N. security Council to the sub-Continent with wide powers to bring about peace between India and Pakistan. this is what he said in his report :

"Without going into causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the sub-continent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe October 20, 1947 by hostile elements, it was contrary to International Law and when in May, 1948 as I believe, units of regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with International law". Did violation of International law on three occasions affect Pakistan in any way. Not at all. On the first two instances, Pakistan was made a party to Kashmir case instead of being named as aggressor. Suppose Pakistan violates the treaty and uses nuclear weapons against India, Indians will die, what harm will come to Pakistan ? Will the world countries join India to find out what Pakistan was having or doing inside its territory? It were America's nuclear teeth which made the United Nations Organisation to rally round her to find out what was happening inside Iraq. Desperation can result in anything. Did not Iraq indulge in chemical warfare against Iran. Thousands of people got killed. Have they been revived? In their weaker moments, Americans also used Napalm bombs in Vietnam and that also on civil population. It is naive and futile to think that Pakistan will abide by any agreement if it is required to save its Islamic pride when defeated in a future war. The U.S.-Pakistan Arms Treaty signed in mid fifties, under which Pakistan got massive U.S. arms supplies free of cost, contained a specific clause that these arms will be used only against Communist China and in no case against India. But Pakistan used these arms openly and freely against India during India-Pakistan conflict of 1965. When the U.S. Government



protested, Pakistani President Gen. Ayub Khan bluntly and publicly announced that Pakistanis were not bloody fools to keep these arms in cotton slabs while she was fighting a war with India. What was the U.S. reaction? Supply of more and more arms and massive spare parts for earlier ones. Fate of N.P.T. or South Asia Nuclear Free Zone Treaty cannot be different. Fanaticism and frustration will not allow Pakistan to see the futility and danger of using the bomb. The only deterrent can be for India to have ten for Pakistan's one and let Pakistan know that India will retaliate. It should not be difficult for Pakistan to understand that any nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan may result in partial and sporadic harm to India, it will mean doom and total destruction of Pakistan. Has not North Korea repudiated N.P.T.? In regard to possession of nuclear arsenal by India, a retired General has rightly said: "Prepare or perish". Some experts are of the view that the nuclear issue is only an India-Pakistan problem and China's being a nuclear power need not concern India. They contend that China's nuclear might and nuclear proliferation consequent to Soviet disintegration are no threats to India. According to them China has attained its objective when it acquired Indian territory in 1962 war and it has no ambition left now vis-a-vis India. This is a mere illusion. When China annexed Tibet in 1950, same opinion was held by India's Neros at that time. They preached us that China wanted that much and no more and shouted Hindi-Chini bhai bhai. India and China signed the Friendship Treaty in 1954. But what was the result? China launched an invasion on India in 1962. India was defeated, humiliated and lost strategic territory. Had not United States of America, U.K., Canada, West Germany and Australia responded generously to Nehru's pathetic appeal, China would neve have announced unilateral cease-fire. The spectre of friendship and enmity is not permanent. Interests of nations go on changing. India's security concerns transcend Pakistan and extend to China and beyond. Policy-makers in the U.S. should appreciate that twisting India's arms will be harmful for all. India's legitimate threat perceptions are not confined to the sub-continent.

We should not forget that when in 1965, we had to face Pakistani aggression. China gave us a 72-hour ultimatum in support of Pakistan. Kashmir outside India or its weak links with India would enable China to take over the entire Ladakh region and make the Kashmir Valley its base for penetrating into India as deep as Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, to keep Indian troops tied up in Himanchal Pradesh and Garhwal and Kumaon Hills in U.P. and then cut off North Bengal, Assam and the entire North-East. The enemy will get tactical and behind the lines support from



various terrorist outfits, which have already been sponsored in various border States. This is not a mere imagination but a real possibility and is based on our experiences in 1962 and 1965. How can we forget that at the height of China's offensive in November, 1962 India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, virtually abandoned Assam when he spoke over All India Radio. It is a sad fact that there is a marked apathy in many parts of the country about the looming disaster. Our history is full of instances when historic battles were being fought in one part of the country, people in other parts stood aloof, thinking that they were far away and safe. What happened? The entire country was enslaved for centuries. And we were able to free ourselves only after we agreed to cutting our two limbs and creating two Islamic countries both on the East and the West. Lakhs among us were massacred, abducted and raped, houses destroyed and belongings looted. Millions of people were forced to abandon their hearths and homes and turn refugees.

Kashmir Valley is the base for the defence of this entire northern region of the country. Therefore, the country must seriously think how to deal with our 'progressives' and 'intellectuals' who feel great pleasure in propounding the absurd theory of a third alternative in Kashmir by handing it over to the same elements, who have been raping it in the past. The first act of the deperadoes used to be to demand from Kashmiris "Zar biddam"; "Zan Biddam". (Give us money give us women). However, adequate realisation has begun to dawn on the Western powers in regard to importance of Kashmir to India's nationhood and to its very existence as an independent sovereign country. The British Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Mark Lennox-Boyd condemned militant violence in Jammu and Kashmir and voiced support for India's efforts to deal with terrorist threat. Mr. Lennox Boyd spoke in the House of Commons on 20th February, 1992 after the question was raised in a debate by Mr. Terry Rooney a newly elected M.P. from Brandford North -- a constituency populated by large number of Mirpuri Muslims calling themselves Kashmiris. Mr Lennox-Boyd briefly outlining the history of Kashmir, said, "much has happened" since India and Pakistan originally agreed to a plebescite covering the entire princely State as set out in the U.N. resolutions in the late 1940s, and 1950s. The issue then was "whether Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan, not independence," he said in his reply to Mr Rooney's question. Mr Lennox Boyd said that since then India and Pakistan had reached a fresh agreement in 1972 pledging to settle differences peacefully and bilaterally and committing themselves to a final settlement of the issue. "So, the



earlier agreement was superceded by the 1972 Agreement," he said. The Minister said Britain had consistently condemned those who resort to terrorist tactics for political ends. The bomb and the bullet are no substitute for the ballot box. We support the Government of India in their efforts to deal with the challenge from terrorist violence in Kashmir."

Mr Robert Torricelli, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and also of the House Sub Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs in the U.S. Government, speaking about Kashmir in February, 1993 said "The United States fought a deadly civil war that killed hundreds of our people for the single proposition that this Union would stand and that no one has the right to divide it. The people of India have the same right."

In the wide world everybody is free to discuss anything or hold any views. This applies particularly to the people in the West. But in our country some people take a very casual view and think aloud about the future of Kashmir. They care too hoots for the country's law and the constitution. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) is an autonomous organisation set up by the Act of U.S. Congress and is part of Federal Government. There is hardly a thinktank in the U.S. that does not have a CIA smell in it. The Carnegie Institute as also the East-West Centre at Honolulu are also suspected to be like that. It is very difficult if not impossible to confirm such accusations. In early seventies, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma the then President of the Indian National Congress used to make such charges very often with full sense of responsibility. Mrs Indira Gandhi had set up a Commission of Inquiry headed by Justice P.D. Kudal of Rajasthan High Court to investigate the "wrong doings" in the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Justice Kudal, after several years' labour submitted his report and indicted the Foundation on several counts among them charges of spying, of harbouring anti-national militants with allegations of corruption and of waging "bacterial warfare" against the country. In mid January, 1993, USIP held a four day discussion on Kashmir in Washington D.C. The convenor of the meeting was Robert Oaklay, former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan. Discussions were conducted by Ambassador Sam Lewis, who heads the State Department's Policy Planning Council. Seven Americans, eight Pakistanis and seven Indians took part. What they discussed is irrelevant so far as India is concerned. India's Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao was not barking as Bhutto's proverbial Indian dog when he said from the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15th August, 1992 that Kashmir was an integral part of India and that this was the bottom line so far as India is concerned. From the



American side there was, among others, James Clapham, who has figured increasingly in recent goings-on about Kashmir. He happens to be fellow of another think tank, Carnegie Institute for International Peace. There was another man from East-West Centre, Honolulu. Why is C.I.A. interested in Kashmir or rather in taking Kashmir away from India and setting it up as an independent State of its own? Carnegie did a study in India during 1992, which received a great deal of publicity in the U.S. The Carnegie Endowment Study group has presented another report titled "India and America, the cold war". In this report it has been suggested that India unilaterally withdraw from Siachen as a stimulus to broader dialogue on confidence building measures. It has also been suggested that both India and Pakistan cut one armoured division, which may lead to force reduction and redeployments. The Study Group's recommendation that Indian troops withdraw unilaterally from Siachen overlooks the history of Kashmir theatre, which is that Pakistan has always sought to fill any vacuum. Had India not pre-empted the Siachen forward movement in 1984, Pakistan may well have occupied the glacier. While India would welcome confidence-building steps for reducing border tension, Pakistan has repeatedly violated them. Parity between India and Pakistan seems to have become a dogma with Americans. And like all dogmas this one too flies in the face of reality and clouds one's vision.

In a large country like India there are always some sections asking for one thing or the other. And none can prevent any person or group or even governments of other countries from doing what they might like to do. After getting fully disillusioned with the goings-on in the U.N. Security Council about Kashmir, Jawaharlal Nehru was once constrained to call its functioning as international gangsterism. Some media persons and others have made it a habit to malign the country's security forces who are facing foreign-sponsored insurgency in Kashmir. Those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it. Whenever the Government of India, takes a step forward in regard to Kashmir, it immediately takes two steps backward. It now seems to be determined to further mess up things in Kashmir. It has brought back to the helm of affairs the very people whose inaptitude had virtually resulted in handing over the State to Pakistan-inspired secessionists before Mr Jagmohan set his shoulder in salvaging the situation in January, 1990; If Farooq Abdullah's tenure as Chief Minister was an unmitigated disaster for the State, Mr. K.V. Krishna Rao had done nothing to show that he can cope with the kind of situation that now prevails in the Kashmir Valley. It appears that the environment in which Mr Krishna Rao will have to work has been pre-determined by



Pilot-Farooq combine. To hound Mr G.C. Saxena and bring back to power the very people who had brought disaster to the Valley, amounts to a cavalier gamble with the future of Kashmir, which deserves severe condemnation. It will be too much to believe that the Centre does not know of all this. The only rational explanation for its launching itself on a palpably disastrous course can be that Mr Rajesh Pilot, the junior but high profile Minister of State for Home Affairs, who has been constantly meddling in Kashmir affairs, has had it orchestrated to add a feather to his deceptive political turban which he puts at prime occasions. Equally deplorable is the conduct of other Ministers, particularly the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, who have gone along with him. This new Rajesh Pilot - Farooq Abdullah accord has, among other serious fall-outs, plunged into a state of uncertainty the trans-Himalayan territory of Ladakh. Government's approach to Kashmir problem is marked by total immaturity, tactlessness and recklessness. What Jammu and Kashmir needs today is political re-organisation especially in the valley. No political process is possible unless the fundamental necessity of making the writ of the law run and of a political re-organisation of the State is undertaken keeping in mind the political aspirations of all the three regions of the State and the religious Hindu minority of the Kashmir Valley. After the writ of the Government is accepted and the gun politics is crushed, the first priority is to enable the minority community of Kashmir to return and live in their homes which were theirs for the millinia. It has been Kashmir's misfortune that every time the situation showed promise of improving under a particular policy and style of functioning, the Central Government promptly put the brakes on, removed the crucial personnel and replaced them by a "soft" outfit and thus gave the terrorists all the time and encouragement to regroup and launch fresh and deadly assault. There can be no beginning of any kind of political process till the proxy war unleashed by Pakistan in the Valley is won decisively and normalcy is resorted. For the last 45 years India has been banking on others. First it went to the U.N. leaned on the U.S.S.R. and now finally hopes that U.S. would declare Pak as a terrorist state. The U.S. will not oblige.

It is a curse for our nation that we are being forced to carry over our shoulders the remnants of some families which have caused tremendous harm to the country. Look at that balloon, Farooq Abdullah. In an interview to BBC on 12th March, 1993, he has said: "Restoration of pre-1953 status with irrevocable guarantee against any erosion could be a starting point in resolving the 45-year Kashmir crisis. He has added that a



dialogue with Pakistan at the same time was necessary. According to him there should be no hesitation in involving mutually friendly countries like America, Britain and Russia with the Kashmiris as an essential party to any talk on the issue. The major thrust of Abdullah's interview was that the pre-1953 status should be restored to Jammu and Kashmir with "Delhi keeping only defence, foreign affairs and communications with it. The rest of the affairs should be allowed to be handled independently by the Kashmir Government". On the fulfilment of these conditions, he said he would return to Kashmir politics. On the day the Farooq made the above statement to woo the terrorists, the latter removed the last sign of his existence in the Valley. He was dismissed from the Auqaf Trust which has an annual budget of nearly Rs 3 Crores. It is great misfortune of our country that a brat chameleon like Farooq Abdullah is considered a political leader. The Hi-fi man, Rajesh Pilot has executed the whole drama. In his crusade and unrelenting bid to move to central stage, this man whose megalomania is now well known, has been delegated such powers as will further enhance his aforesaid trait. Perhaps Mr Narasimha Rao does not know where this person, demonstrating his absolute faith in Mr Rao, will one day land him and the nation. The murder of cardiac surgeon and one of the pioneers of subversion and terrorism, Dr Abdul Ahad Gooru on 1st April, 1993 by one of the terrorist outfits, has blown to smithereens the unrestrained fervour of Rajesh Pilot. The terrorists' design behind this murder conforms to a pattern. Earlier, prominent Human Rights leader, Hriday Nath Wanchoo was brutally murdered. Mr Gooru's murder is the latest instance of how overground leaders have been dumped to death by terrorists after making use of them. Mr Rajesh Pilot and those who share his views seem to think if they close their eyes, the whole world became dark. They must abandon their cosy assumption at once.

Some people keep their eyes closed and concentrate their mind on fixed points. And what is worse they think that they have the monopoly of all the wisdom in the world. According to them, Jammu and Kashmir is still governed by the Constitutional Order promulgated by Maharaja Hari Singh in the year 1939. According to these intellectives Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in three subject only, viz. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. This issue was raised by some other people also in early fifties. Therefore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India made an official announcement in Parliament of India on 7th August, 1952. He said:



"There still seems to be a good deal of misunderstanding about Kashmir's accession to India. The other day I said in this House that this accession was complete in law and in fact in October, 1947. It is patent and no argument is required because accession of every State in India was complete on these very terms by September in that year or a little later. All the States acceded in three basic subjects, namely Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Can anybody say that accession of any State in India was incomplete simply because they acceded in only these three subjects? Of course, not. It was a complete accession in law and in fact. When United Nations Commission accompanied by legal advisers and others came here, it was open to them to challenge it. But they did not because it was quite clear to them and to their legal advisers that there could be no question about the legal validity of the accession".

In his autobiography "Atish-e-Chinar", Sheikh Abdullah has said:

"The Instrument of Accession signed by Hari Singh was the same as those signed by rulers of other Princely states. According to it, once accepted, accession was full, final unconditional and irrevocable."

These designated "intellectives" take shelter under Article 370 of the Constitution of India. They refuse to listen when they are told that this Article is a purely temporary and provisional and should have disappeared by now. In February 1964, Pandit Nehru had assured the Lok Sabha that Article 370 would get eroded in due course and vanish ultimately. Mr M.C. Chagla who was Education Minister in Pandit Nehru's Cabinet at that time and who represented India in many Security council debates on Kashmir said in the Rajya Sabha in the tone of exasperation:

"The Prime Minister the other day spoke of the gradual erosion of Article 370 of the Constitution. I Hope that this erosion is accelerated and I also hope that very soon that Article will disappear from the Constitution of India. After all, it is a transitional and temporary. I think transitional period has been long enough."

Shri Chagla had been Chief Justice of Bombay High court and was jurist of international repute. He was Education Minister of India and later India's Foreign Minister. His speeches in the U.N. Security Council on Kashmir are treasures of law, constitution and jurisprudence. He was



surely more eminent to understand the genesis and status of Article 370 than some of the noted journalists who, after all, were employed as Information Officers in different Government Departments, during Pt. Nehru's Government and later. Pandit Nehru was for early annulment of this temporary provision in our Constitution. He, however, preferred an initiative to come from the State Government. G.M. Sadiq, who had just taken over as Chief Minister of the State, had assured him in regard to this initiative. He had already written an article in the Hindustan Times suggesting annulment of this Article. However, Pt. Nehru's death, Pakistan's aggression on India in Rann of Kutch and subsequently on Jammu and Kashmir itself, caused the postponement of such a step. And soon political detractors of Sadiq in his own party, impatient to usurp power, played the communal card by proping up Jamaat-i-Islami. This made Sadiq's job difficult and he died very soon. By then Indira Gandhi regime got stabilised and only personal loyalty and devotion to Indira mattered and all other issues were put on the back-burner. This loyalty and sycophancy she got in abundance from Kashmiri leaders belonging to her Congress Party.

The former princely State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in terms of Indian Independence Act and the Mountbatten Plan. The settlement about partition and transfer of contiguous Muslim majority areas to Pakistan applied to British India alone. It had no relevance to the Princely states.

The United States has been treating Pakistan with velvet gloves. Besides providing assistance worth billions of dollars to her, U.S. and its allies turned a blind eye on the successful effort of the Pakistani military establishment to acquire nuclear weaponry. The Reagan and Bush administrations permitted Pakistan to acquire U.S. nuclear technology and then broke the law by hiding from Congress what they knew about Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear warheads. Pakistan is not being declared a terrorist State in spite of all evidence, on the plea that Pentagon has a deep linkage with Pakistani army establishment. President Bill Clinton has promised more jobs to the Americans and is, therefore, sure to use economic or other power to expand American trade at the expense of countries like India. His administration appears to be a votary of bilateral pressure to increase American exports. Super laws and human rights are kept zooming round the world like U-2 planes of earlier days.

America has begun to use the stick of human rights against India. This method has two-fold advantages. It will give respectability to its anti-India moves and also attract many supporters within India. India has not to



learn lessons from U.S. on human rights, given its track record in Vietnam. India has its own security environment, its political, economic and social conditions, priorities and its own judgement of what needs to be done. People of India have basic character and national trait of courage of their convictions and to fight resolutely and relentlessly for their country's territorial integrity and other national interests unmindful of adverse international opinion. Linking of U.S. aid to India with its human rights record and taking objection to the laws which India has been compelled to enforce for its internal and external security will not brow-beat India into submission. Armed insurgency in Kashmir ought to be seen in the background of rising crescendo of Islamic fundamentalism and the theocratic regimes which are extending moral and material support to the separatist movement. Islamic countries with pronounced fundamentalist orientation have their centres of subversion in various places in the country. The Kashmir insurgency is closely linked with the Afghan Mujahideen activities and Iranian export of Islamic revolution. Afghan and Sudanese mercenaries have already been active in the valley and their number is likely to swell in the near future. Sections of the Indian civil society and some American experts and sections in various Indian political parties like the left, Royists, self-styled human rights activists etc. are lending implicit support to the secessionist movement in Kashmir. The ISI has its active and passive agencies in the valley. India needs to take two urgent steps in Kashmir. One is to enable the local population to get fed up of the insurgency and the second is to ensure that the enormous funds, which the government is pouring into Valley, do not wholly become available to the terrorists. If this diversion of funds is not stopped at once, the Valley will prove to be a bottomless pit for India's resources.

*"What is left undone in one minute is restored by no eternity."*



## Chapter - 2

### Heritage and Legacy

"No civilisation is conquered from without  
untill it has destroyed itself from within"

Kashmir has everything precious to India's heritage. It has been a nursery of learning and religion, has a breath-taking landscape as if pointed to perfection by the Master Painter. It is a place of pilgrimage for Hindus and also Buddhists. Millions of pilgrims present themselves and prostrate at the feet of Mata Vaishnav Devi, Mata Ragya Khsheer Bhawani, Rajarajeshwari Mahatripursundari, jagadamba Mata Sharika and above all Lord Shiva and Parvati in the Amarnath Cave in the lovable lap of Himalayas. After draining the lake and creating the Kashmir Valley, Rishi Kashyap blessed his creation with the celestial river Vitasta.

Upto the beginning of fourteenth century, Kashmiris were living in peace, co-existence, tolerance and were mostly devoted to spiritual and academic pursuits. Kashmir was the abode of Hindus, who were devoted to contemplation and higher learning. They are the original natives of the Valley of Kashmir. These Hindus popularly known as 'Pandits', are a part of the Vedic heartland of India and have lived in Kashmir from times immemorial and have a history dating back beyond the "Neelmat era". The Hindu religious percepts have borne the message of universal peace, brotherhood and co-existence of all creeds and faiths. The Hindus of Kashmir are progenitors of Shaivite monism and Hinyan and Sarvastavadin Buddhism, which spread to Central Asia, Tibet and Western China. They propounded the great Shaivite doctrine of 'Trika' and the theory of recognition. A Kashmiri Hindu is a spiritualist to the core. Since ages his urge for 'Sat Chit Anand', together with the environs he was in, has made of him a colossus. He never believed in material comforts though he did procure all, but with all that, his subconscious was always booked to something most profound and subtle. A Kashmiri Hindu has the strength to get in plenty but, above all, he is strong enough to leave and renunciate everything with grace. This has been his forte since ages. This is not his cowardice. it is his innate human Divine strength. He perceived the world as unreal and still believes it so. But even with all this he never compromised with his basic cultural and



religious moorings come what may. A Kashmiri Hindu's culture is part and parcel of his spiritual activity and he always had and still has utmost importance for it. Religion being tuned to his peculiar environs followed suit. No wonder a Kashmiri Pandit's Cultural and Spiritual pursuits moulded his religion in such a way that he had to create his Ganga, sangam (at Shadipur-confluence of Sindhu and Vitasta), Sharda Peeth, Jyotir Lingas etc. in Satisar, i.e. Kashmir only. This aspect has been reflected in almost all of India's regions where local customs have intermingled with religion. A Kashmiri Hindu's nature has always been cosmopolitan. No wonder this percolated in Indian ethos as "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam". (World is a big family). The snow-capped mountain peaks around the Valley evoked the image of Shiva (Shivpuri). The worship of Shiv and study of Shaivism is, therefore, a predominant theme in the religious and philosophic practice of the Kashmiri Hindus. The beginning of Shivasana or Shivagama can be traced to the beginning of Vedic revelations.

The Shankaracharya temple atop about 1000 feet high hillock of the same name is to the south-east of Srinagar. Ringed by the perennially snow-bound mountain peaks, the magnificent Dal Lake and the zig-zagging Vitasta(Jhelum) flowing placidly through the heart of the ancient city of Srinagar and the temple commands a fascinating bird's eye-view of the city and celestial Valley. The Shiva temple the massive stone structure is built on a high octagonal plinth strictly in accordance with Hindu tradition. The temple has 84 recesses on its exterior and is surrounded by a parapet well enabling devotees to have the Parikrama of the temple safely. The stairs leading to the sanctum sanctorum number 36, first flight of 18 steps followed by 12 steps and again followed by six steps on either side of the landing terminating the second flight. This total of 36 steps is also in accordance with Hindu tradition, 36 denoting as many elements of which cosmos is made, viz. Shiva Tattva to the Prithvi Tattva.

The hillock, according to "Tarikh-i-Hassan", (pp 394-496, Vol.II) and "Waquiai Kashmir" of Mulla Ahmed was known originally as "Anjana" and later as "Jeth Ludrak" and the temple was built by King Sandhiman of the Gonanda Dynaasty of Kashmir (471-536 Laukek Era), corresponding to 2605-2540 B.C. He gave the name "Jeshteshwara" to the temple and the hillock came to be known as "Sandhiman Parbat" after the name of the King. According to Dr.Stein, translator of Kalhana's Rajtarangini, King Gopaditya (369-309 B.C.) repaired the temple and donated two villages, the present Gupkar and Buchhwara (Bhaksira Vatika) for the maintenance of the temple. This time the hillock was given



the name "Gopadari" or Gopa Hill. This name and "Jeshteshwara" for the temple prevailed till the Kashmiris dedicated the temple to the sweet memory of Adi Shankaracharya, who visited Kashmir and stayed at the temple complex. This is confirmed by "Tarikh-i-Hassan" (pp.80-82, Vol.I), although there is some confusion about the dates of Adi Shankaracharya's visit to Kashmir. However, after the dedication, the temple and hill came to be known as Shankaracharya temple and hill after the great sage and scholar from the south of the country. After the first repairs to the temple carried out by King Gopaditya, King Lalitaditya (697-734 A.D.) repaired it.

The original Shiva Lingam in the temple, along with over 300 precious idols of Gods and Goddesses therein and other structures and residential quarters around the temple, were destroyed by Sultan Sikanar (the Iconoclast), who ruled Kashmir between 1389 and 1413 A.D. King Zain-ul-Abidin (1420 to 1470 A.D) repaired the temple and its dome, which had been damaged by an earthquake, as a gesture of goodwill towards the Hindus of Kashmir, who had been persecuted by his father and grandfather. Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din the Governor of Sikh ruler of Punjab (1841-1846 A.D.) also repaired the temple in his own time. Later, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second Dogra ruler of Kashmir repaired it once again and installed the present Lingam in it. Later, a saint from Nepal and Swami Shiv Rattan Gir Saraswati, who had his seat at Durganag temple complex, carried out some repairs to the temple. The Maharaja of Indore electrified the temple during the forties of this century and installed a dazzling flash-light on its top, making it conspicuous during night also.

The temple was originally connected with Vitasta (Jhelum) near the temple of Goddess Tripursundari on the right bank of river, now known as Shurahyaar(Shudash Dashyar) by a finely sculptured stone stair overlooking the present Badami Bagh Contonment off Sonawar. This flight of steps was got dismantled by King Jehangir and the stones were used by his queen, Nur Jehan, who built a huge mosque, known now as 'Pathar Masjid' near Zaina Kadal in Srinagar. The mosque was never used for prayers by Muslims (Sunnies) as it had been built by a woman belonging to the Shia sect. The temple was approached via a bridle path from the Durganag temple at the base of the hillock. This path was later electrified by the Daramarth Trust. In early Seventies, however, when the Central Government, at the persuasion of the State Government, put up the T.V. tower on the Dal Lake side of the hillock, a



road was constructed to connect the Tower with the Lake near Nehru Park. Later, the Dharamarth Trust laid a flight of about 599 chiselled stone-steps, with side walls and landings, to connect the T. V. Tower with the temple. That way the temple was lately approached both via the bridle path starting from Darganag temple and via the T. V. Tower road.

Mrs Walter Tibbits in her book "The Cities seen in East and West", says in the chapter "The City of Sun" that: "The hill is rough and jagged as the path of yoga (the Path of Union with God). The elements have stained its every shade of ochre, the colour sacred to the lord of Universe. Sharp rocks break the path as the trails of the way out and wound the feet of the aspirant of knowledge. On its summit stands in simple, solemn dignity a small fane of grey stone. Its columns are fluted, its dome is round, surrounded by a trident. Inside is one thing only, an upright black stone..". The Lingam is the oldest religious symbol in the world. It is also the simplest. But to the Shavait, no gorgeous imagery of the Mass, no elaborate ceremonial of Mecca, can compare with the solemnity of that black stone... Guardian of the austere glories of Maheshwara, crowning of the fort-like hill, high, serene, ascetic, bearing no ornament save that of the quiet spirit of Shiva himself, the Jeshtrudra shall command the Happy Valley long after we and those that come shall have passed away".

Calling Shankaracharya hill as 'koh-i-Sulaiman' and the ancient temple thereon as "Takht-i-Sulaiman" is a later-day ruse started some time in the 19th century by some fanatical Muslims of Kashmir to complete the process of Islamisation of the historically known places of Hindu worship in the Valley and also to bury deep for ever the Hindu past of Kashmir. It is in line with the demolition of the then famous Hindu temple of "Mahashri" (Vishnu) and the erection thereon of a structure known now as Jama Masjid, conversion of the "Mahakali Temple" near Fatehkadal, Srinagar, into the present "Shah-i-Hamadan" mosque, and the "Ekadasharudra" (Shiva) Temple in Khanyar, Srinagar into the Ziarat Dastgir Sahib, not to speak of hundreds of temples throughout the Valley which were either destroyed completely or converted into mosques, ziarats and dargahs, during the Muslim rule in Kashmir (14th to 18th century A.D.)

The Shankaracharya Hill, and the Temple on top of it, is the most attractive, conspicuous and one of oldest monuments still there in the Valley. It surely attracts attention of any one visiting Srinagar, and may be, reminds him of the glorious Hindu past of Kashmir. It would perhaps fulfil the dream of many fundamentalists of Kashmir to have an Arabic



style mosque in its place as the most prominent landmark on the process of Islamisation of the Valley. As it is, the half a million of Hindus of Kashmir, the descendats of the pre-Muslim Kashmiris have been hounded out of Kashmir, which is at present virtually like any other Muslim country ruled over by gun-totting terrorists, trained and abetted by Pakistan. The conversion of the Shankaracharya Temple into a mosque or a ziarat would surely add to the present single-hued portrait of Kashmir as the door to the Islamic world to its west and north, which is claimed to be one of the objectvies of separatism and terrorism. Farooq Abdullah cannot just be faulted with any knowledge or understanding of history. An accident of history pushed him into politics and later placed him in the Chief Minister's chair. And now when he has been discarded by the Muslims, his reference to 'Shankaracharya Temple' having been 'Takht-i-Sulaiman' at the National Integration Council meeting in June, 1992, can be said to have been aimed at wooing these Muslims as also presenting himself as a champion of secularism to the gathering of like-minded Hindu-bashers at that time. What is, however, far more stunning about this hyberbole of Dr. Farooq Abdullah at the N.I.C. meeting, is the speed with which a prominent journalist Shri Inder Malhotra, took the wrong cue and proceeded to thrash the Hindu communalists, on the basis of a patently incorrect remark of Farooq, and that without verifying his facts. Journalists and intellectuals, particularly the high profile and respected among them, are supposed to educate and guide their countrymen on the basis of historical facts and truths and not allow themselves to be swayed by momentary political winds which can change course without any advance signal or warning. It is hoped that Shri Malhotra has since updated his knowledge about the Shankaracharya Hill and Temple : the sooner the better. The following stanza from the Old Testament to appreciate that King Solomon never visited Kashmir, not to speak of his having ever established the "Takht-i-Sulaiman" (Solomon's Throne) on the "Sulaiman Teng" (Solomon's Mound) in Srinagar:

1. Solomon succeeded his father, David as King and his royal power was firmly established (1 King 2:14).
2. He was king of Jerusalem, over all Israel for forty years (1 king 11.42)
3. He died and was buried in David's city and his son Rehomoam succeeded him as king (1 king 11:43).

And that was around 950 B.C. when Islam was nowhere on the scene. There is absolutely no mention in Hebrew texts of King Solomon



having ever visited Kashmir and established his throne on the Shankaracharya Hill. This is just an assumption, a recent creation for ulterior motives and with malafide intentions. There is no mention of any Solomon in the pre-Islamic annals of Kashmir.

The world famous Indologist and archaeologist, Dr Stein has said in his translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (Page 43, Vol.II) that "the present name of the hill meaning Solomon's Throne (Takht-i-Sulaiman) is undoubtedly of Mohammedan origin ... that the ancient designation of the hill was "Gopadari", is proved beyond all doubt...in Kalhana's chronicle". Professor Sahebzada Ghulam Hassan, author of "Tarikhi Hassan" (History of Kashmir) also confirms categorically that the name "Kohi Sulaiman" is given to the hill by Muslims. Fergusson, in his book "History of Indian Architecture" (page 282) says that the temple on Gopadari (now Shankaracharya) is one of the earliest buildings in Kashmir. The tradition of Abul Fazal's time also distinctly attributes the temple to the time of King Gopaditya (369-309 B.C.).

The claim that King Solomon ever visited Kashmir and established his throne anywhere in the Valley is obviously false and motivated. It is just a part of a preposterous conspiracy going on in Kashmir, on official level as well, to somehow obliterate the Hindu past of Kashmir, which for all practical purposes stands adequately enshrined in the "Rajatarangini" by Kalhana, the "Waqia-i Kashmir" by Mulla Ahmed, the "Ratnakar Purana", by Ratnakar Pandit, the "Tarikhi Hassan" by Sahibzada Ghulam Hassan, and the writings of Dr Stein, Fergusson, and dozens of others both foreign and Kashmiri. The conspiracy was furthered about a decade back when Sheikh Abdullah changed, in one stroke, the old Sanskrit names of as many as 800 villages. The separatists have now started calling another hillock in Srinagar, the Hari Parbat on which stands the ancient shrine dedicated to the Mother Goddess (the eighteen-armed Sharika), as "Koh-i-Maraan". The hundred year old internationally-known library of the State Research and Publications Department, which housed many rare books and manuscripts in Sanskrit and Sharda Scripts, has been closed and the valuable materials, put haphazardly into gunny bags have been dumped somewhere in the godowns of Kashmir University to rot.

It would be quite appropriate to mention here of the recommendations of the Glancy Commission, constituted by Maharaja Hari Singh, after the communal riots engineered by the then Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1931, that "it is evident that both the Shankaracharya Hill (including Durganag Temple) and Hari Parbat Hill belong to Kashmiri Pandits" (Page 4 of Glancy Commission Report). The Report also assured that



"the areas that were vacant on the hills and on the plains in Shankaracharya and Hari Parbat area were to remain in tact and in possession of the Pandit community, which no non-pandit could encroach, occupy or build upon". Unfortunately, these exclusive Hindu areas have been encroached upon and usurped extensively after 1947, revenue records tampered with, and almost all areas stand built upon now. In this context it would be proper to make a mention of ancient Bhairav Nath Temple at Chhatabal, Srinagar, which remains under police lock and key since 1972 as some Muslims of the area came to claim half of this prime land belonging to this shrine located on the meeting point of river Vitasta and the river Dood Ganga. A Divisional Commissioner of Kashmir once told a Hindu delegation that they would better "come to a settlement with the Muslims", or he would be "constrained to convert the area into a public park". As against this, when Kashmiri Hindus could, during the Sikh and Dogra regimes in J.&K., retaliate against the excesses committed on them by successive muslim Sultans and Governors, the Hindus demonstrated unforgettable magnanimity and large-heartedness, and a deep sense of peaceful co-existence. Here is what a renowned Kashmiri historian, based in Pakistan, had to say about the sagacity of the Kashmiri Hindus:

"It is to the lasting credit of Pandit Birbal Dhar that when a deputation of Muslims headed by Sayyid Hassan Shah Quadri Khanyari approached him to dissuade the Sikhs from the destruction of the `Khanaqah-i-Shah-i-Hamadan; he moved in the matter, used his influence and saved this historic structure from vandalism .." (Page 726 of "Kashmir" by Dr. Sufi.)

Farooq Abdullahs and Inder Malhotras may kindly keep in mind that history cannot be changed by making off-the-cuff remarks. "History is no blind goddess and does not excuse blindness in others".

Abhinavagupta was one of the most outstanding Acharyas of the Shaiva philosophy. He lived in Kashmir in the 10th century A.D. The versatility of this genius was recognised in his own time. He was called the Shankaracharya of Kashmir.

The Kashyap Bhoomi now called Kashmir, nestling in the outer Himalayas, has been aluring to itself invaders and bandits, saints and sages, scholars and preachers and travellers and lovers of nature alike for ages past. The core socio-religious group of this blend, Kashmiri Hindus, developed into a distinct cultural organism, favoured by geographical fastness and climatic rigours. It impregnated this land of the gods, the cradle of holy Vitasta with the springs of love, amity and



peaceful co-existence. It always maintained a subtle as well as a gross relationship with the Indian mainstream. In fact, the Hindu society of the sub-continent remained an umbrella, a super cultural dynammo for this Kashmiri society. Ramayan, Mahabharat, Shrimad Bhagvat, and the full galaxy of Indian saints and scholars always nourished and sustained Kashmiris in their pursuit of meaning in life. A pilgrimage to Kashmir is El Dorado for a Hindu living anywhere.. Kashmiri ethos never got detached from its moorings as recorded in the noble utterances of the anonymous sages of our Upnishads and the Vedic lore. Among the most profound principles enshrined in these texts is the cultivation of an open mind in the realm of the spirit: "Truth is one, though the sages have called it by various names", and that ``all faiths deserve our respect".

Kashmiris are descendents of Rishis and Munis like Dev Vashishta, Bhardwaja, Dattatriya Munishwar etc. etc. and such names are being repeated and commemorated at the time of religious rites, dharmic functions, shrads etc. by Kashmiris according to their "gotras". Pandit means a very learned Hindu, authority on some subject or a learned teacher. History has subjected Kashmiris to severe test and taught them to bear their lot with patience and fortitude. Deeply religious, the Kashmiri Pandit has never met violence with violence. Infinitely tolerant and liberal towards people of other faiths, there is hardly any instance in the history of Kashmir when the Pandits expressed their disapproval of the religious practices of othe religious faiths. To Kashmiris, the numerous holy springs, the blue mountain lakes and silvery peaks of the majestic mountains have been sacred shrines of their five thousand years long ancestry during which Kashmir emerged as the "Sharda Peeth" a hollowed place for ancient learning. To be known as Kashmiri Pandit is not to be recognised as a person subscribing to clanish mediocrity, but a matter of pride for those who sought over the Centuries to shape a distinct style of life by contributing knowledge and learning, despite unheard of cruelty and tyranny suffered by them at the hands of cruel rulers, who came to spread Islam. The pathways through which members of the Kashmiri community passed, in their escape from the tyranny of religious begots, six hundred years ago, are mute witnesses to the immense sufferings the Kashmiri has undergone to preserve and uphold his distinctive style and heritage. During the five thousand years of history, they have made colossal contribution to world civilisation in the field of religion, philosophy, Sanskrit literature, medicine, history, aesthetics, etc. As model of non-violence, they have never handled leathel weapons or spoken harsh words. Devoted to the study of Vedas and other Shastras in



all their aspects, the essence of these studies has been coursing in their blood stream from generation to generation; In peaceful or turbulent times they were protected under the spiritual umbrella by a large number of highly advanced saints and sages who flourished in the Valley from time to time. No wonder, they preferred death to change in their religion and withstood stoically the ruthless monsters of five hundred years of Muslim rule. And when pushed back to the wall, they migrated to places of safety in the hot plains of India. Till recently Kashmiri Hindus were using 'Saptrishi' era and even now have retained it symbolically.

The Hindus of Kashmir were models of simplicity, purity, truthfulness, ascetic tendency and compassion. All these traits of the highest human culture were built up by Rishis and Maharishis who, in their secluded Ashrams, performed austere penances and at the same time taught a large number of students who stayed in the Ashrams and led a life befitting a Brahmin Brahmachari. The children of the households lived with Acharyas in the latter's homes. There they used to serve their teacher by gathering fuel for homa and offered morning and evening prayers. The recitation of Vedic hymns with proper accents, preceded by the syllable 'OM' took place at day-break. Upanayanam Sanskara, which literally means taking the child to the Guru, was the most important in one's life. Rishis and Paramrishis, in their Ashrams and seats of learning, propagated gems of philosophy, art, literature and history. Apart from imparting teaching to Kashmiri students, they instructed numerous scholars from entire Bharat, who braving long and arduous journey came to Kashmir to drink deep from the well of knowledge at the feet of the masters. No wonder that from the remote ages, Kashmir became the seat of learning and earned for itself the appropriate name of Sharda Peeth or the seat of Sharada, the Goddess of Learning and Fine Arts. Apart from performing rites and rituals, as prescribed by the Shastras, the householders worshipped the Hindu Triad, namely Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma and their Consorts, Parvati or Uma who has a variety of other names such as Kali, Durga, Mahadevi, Gauri (the Consort of Shiva); Shri or Laskhmi (the Consort of Vishnu) and Vageshwari or Saraswati (Consort of Brahma). A long list of Shivacharyas (Kashmir's Shaivism being the crest jewel in the firmament of Indian metaphysical world) and learned teachers of the hoary past at Sharda Peeth, are but a few examples that do proud to this patriotic, but unfortunate, persecuted Pandit who continues to be driven to desperation with his back to the wall. His main forte has been learning, which assumed a high profile in the past when Hinduism reigned supreme in Kashmir, in centre of excellence at Shards Peeth -



ancient but now defunct seat of learning on the banks of Krishna Ganga in the Valley of Mount "Harmukh" (mouth of Lord Shiva) (now under Pakistan occupation). It provided instruction to the scholars from as far away as KERALA thus cementing the bonds of emotional integration of the people.

The appellation "Bhatta" is a remnant reminder of the honorific that went with the degree "Bhatta" - awarded to the graduates coming out of the portals of this prestigious institution. Kashmiri language had an indigenous script. Its fate has been described in the earlier chapter. Activities, as always, in Hindu and patriotic Kashmir, reasoned to the rhythm of the ebb and flow of the Indian society - the mother current of all that has flowed in this land of Vedanta proclaiming unity and harmony of all life. Contribution of "Bhatta" (Kashmiri Pandits) touched a high in the past when they were not forced to run for their lives, their footsteps were always dogged by anti-human and anti-cultural forces. Therefore, they have a proud past and still possess a vast potential for still better achievements in the service of this great country and humanity at large, provided they are able to discern their future in its appropriate perspective, beckoning them to sincere and catholic efforts. In their overall setting of their Kashmiriat, Kashmiri Hindus, who had to flee the Valley in medieval times, successfully maintained their social identity. They continued to maintain some tenuous social links with their erstwhile mountain-girt homeland and apart from and in spite of their handicap of being unable to maintain their mother-tongue, they faithfully observed all the rituals associated with all their mundane and sacred functioning as Kashmiri Saraswat Brahmins.

Kashmir's devastation began in early fourteenth century. The Hindu King, Udyan Deva, true to Kashmir's traditional hospitality, gave shelter to a run-away Muslim, Shah Mir Khorasani. In fact, the Hindu rulers would give refuge to any person in trouble or peril. Udyan Deva passed away in 1338. His queen, Kota Rani, did everything to maintain her rule. But that was not to be. True to pattern, the man for whom her husband had done everything to keep him comfortable, turned tables against her. He conspired to get Kota Rani imprisoned at Anderkot, where she had gone to look into the grievances of the people of the area. He released Kota Rani after he had captured the throne and established his sway. He asked Kota Rani to become his wife. On her blunt refusal, she was forcibly put into his harem. But this dethroned Kashmiri monarch, upholding the honour of her person and of entire womanhood, like Rani Padmini, gave a big slap to the treacherous Mir and killed herself instantly



soon after she was forced into his bed. Thus came to an end peace and harmony in Kashmir. This was the beginning of dark days for Kashmir and Kashmiri people were subjected to brutal persecution and forcibly converted to Islam. What happened during this period is a tragic saga of Evil perpetrated upon the people of the Kingdom. Starting with the prolonged rape of the entire length and breadth of the valley earlier Changez Khan and Halaku had raided the Valley and later on Dulacha or Dulcha (Zulqadr Khan) a Tartar chief from Turkistan who laid waste the land and another by Achala, another Turkish leader ruined its people entirely. What little was left to complete the picture of death and destruction was taken over by Sultan Sikandar. The sacred thread of assassinated Hindus weighing dozens of maunds was burnt. The invading hordes were bordering on absolute illiteracy and barbarianism beat all records in the history of mankind in matters of inflicting tyranny and cruelty on Hindus of Kashmir. Those who resisted vigorously were tied back to back, put into sacks and then thrown into the pristine waters of the Dal Lake to meet their watery grave. The prominent Hindus were forcibly locked in cattle sheds, which were filled with smoke emanating from the burning cowdung. The cruel ruler agreed to free them only if they cursed their religion and embraced Islam. Sikandar, who took pride in calling himself *Ikhnoclost*, the fourth ruler of Shahmiri dynasty openly confronted Kashmiris with choice between conversion to Islam or death. Most of the Kashmiris were converted to Islam on point of sword and all their temples including marvellous Sun temple at Martand and majestic Vijeshwar temple at Vijeshwar (Bijbehara) were destroyed by this brute. The "Bhatta Mazaar", the graveyard of Hindus, the name given to the bund across the Dal Lake made on the dead bodies of the victims of Islamic fanaticism is a gory reminder of that dark period in the long and chequered history of Kashmir. The places "Bhatawath" i.e. path of "Battas" (Pandits) now pronounced as Batote on the Jammu Srinagar highway and Kasthanwar or Kasht-niwar, i.e. remover of troubles, on the other side of the Valley in Jammu region had provided refuge to the fleeing and frightened Kashmiris from the Valley. The Sultan destroyed Hindu temples and Hindu shrines and burnt rare Hindu scriptures with a ferocious vengeance. He set the trend for spoilation of temples, defiling the images and usurpation of their valuables. Noted historian, Ghulam Hassan has recorded: "Since the days of Hindu kings, a large number of wonderful temples were existing in this land. Their architecture and construction left even very knowledgeable persons bewildered, Sikan-



dar, through a very heavy hand, demolished all these temples from their roots. First of all continuous efforts were made for one year to destroy the Martand temple but it remained intact. Then a huge quantity of wood was piled up inside the temple and set on fire. Similarly, temples in Bijvara, numbering more than 300, were also brought down to the ground. The Kali Shri temple was earlier destroyed by Sultan Qutubuddin. Sultan Sikandar constructed another mosque in its place. Sikandar made a public announcement that anyone not adopting Islam should leave the country or else would be killed. As a result, large number of Hindus migrated to different directions. Some of them got converted to Islam. Some Brahmins preferred death to Islam. All Hindu books were collected and thrown into the Dal Lake''. The original written in Urdu.

Jawahar Lal Nehru accompanied by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan visited the Martand temple in 1941. The Archaeological Society of India Keeper showed them some black-shining blocks, replete with imagery, that has escaped the devastating fire. Nehru wrung his hands in despair, saying "What did they gain by vandalising such a great artistic treasure?" Well-known British Archaeologist and historian, Stein, writing about the Martand temple says: "The ruins of this splendid temple are still the most striking objects of ancient Hindu architecture in the Valley." The temple was built by the famous King of Kashmir during 724-761 A.D. in honour of Sun God. The ruins of another temple town Awantipur, built by Utpal dynasty's ruler, Avantivarman in 855-883 A.D. are witness to their grandeur. The demolished Martand temple, even now in its ruined state, invites comparison with parthenan of Greece.

As the Muslim rule was consolidated in the Kashmir Valley by the middle of 14th Century, a large number of Kashmiris migrated to what appeared to them more congenial regions in the sub-continent. Some of them moved as far as South to the Konkan Coast and merged with the Sarswat Brahmins of that region. The horrifying memory of this period of tyranny has left permanent scars on the psych of Kashmiri Hindus and even now it is related that just eleven families escaped this trauma by going into hiding in the Valley. Many of the survivors returned to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiedien, who was grand-son of Sikandar the Iconoclast. Initially, he was cruel and fanatic as his grandfather. But a grave event proved to be water-shed in his life. One day his pleasure-seeking prodigal son asked his attendants to take him along the river. In fact, he intended to go in search of new choicest pastures. It was very early in the cold morning. He spotted a young girl pouring water



with flower petals into the river Vitasta. He went near her and as he began to draw her towards him by getting hold of her with his right arm, she pulled herself with a jerk, ran away and was soon lost in the lanes and by-lanes. The prince returned and decided to order her formal capture by his soldiers. The girl belonged to one of the eleven Hindu families, who were in hiding. Apparently, she had been taking the risk of going to the river bank in the early mornings for "smarpan" of "neirmaal". As soon as the prince reached his palace, he felt immense pain in his right arm. Shortly his arm became motionless and his pain, which slowly spread to the other parts of the body, became unbearable. Physicians and later Maulvis were summoned to either treat him by medicine or show their miracles. Nothing was left undone. But the Prince appeared to be nearing his end by each passing day. There was no respite in the cries of the Prince day and night. Sultan became restless and there was gloom all-round. One day when Zain-ul-Abedien was about to go for offering his usual 'Namaaz', one of the attendants of the Prince bowed before the Sultan and related to him the entire episode of the fateful morning. The King consulted his trusted courtiers. The girl was traced and brought to the palace. The King very politely and affectionately asked her whether she could forgive the boy and cure him. The girl in a low voice and with great modesty and obedience, narrated before the King the agony of the innocent Brahmins who were in hiding. She told him that she belonged to one of these families. Her father and a few other elders who had also been brought before the Sultan along with the girl, assured him that they could pray for the prince provided they were allowed to live freely and the threat of conversion was removed. The king joyfully agreed and issued the firman immediately in this regard. The Pandits did the needful and the prince began to recover and soon he was his old self. Zain-ul-Abedien, now a fully transformed personality, announced that the Hindus who had migrated from the Valley, could return to their homes and profess their faith with full freedom. He also decreed that those who had been converted forcibly could also revert to their original faith, if they so desired.

Zain-ul-Abedien turned into a very tolerant and enlightened ruler. During his rule (1423 to 1474 A.D.) large number of Hindu migrants were recalled and rehabilitated in perfect security and honour in the towns and villages of Kashmir. Their properties were restored to them. He fully helped the Hindus to repair their vandalised places of worship and to build new temples. He appointed a Pandit, Shree Bhat as his chief advisor. Even today, after five centuries, he is on the lips of every Kashmiri whether Muslim or Hindu. He is popularly remembered as



Budshah or great king. He completely abandoned the path of bigotry and fully concentrated on the well-being of his subjects and development of the Valley.

Kashmiri Hindus continued their precarious existence in their homeland under Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjehan. Some of them took to Persian studies and began to be appointed as tutors by the Mughal elite even at such far off places like Delhi and Agra. Aurangzeb's fanaticism brought another crisis in the life of Kashmiri Hindus. They were again confronted with the choice between conversion to Islam or death. Aurangzeb was very keen for conversion of Hindus of India to Islam. According to Mecaulliffe, the experiment of wholesale conversion was first tried in Kashmir. The Kashmiri Pandits were well-known for their scholarship and their conversion to Islam would induce other Hindus to embrace Islam. S.M.Latif, in his "History of Punjab" says:

"Aurangzeb sent Iftikhar Khan as Governor of Kashmir in 1671. Iftikhar carried out the fanatical policies of Aurangzeb with great zeal. Aurangzeb's motives in persecuting the Brahmans were obvious. The Brahmans both presented and propagated the Hindu religion and tradition. Their whole-sale conversion to Islam would have definitely helped in bringing the rest of the Hindus into the fold of Islam. The Brahmins of Kashmir were renowned for their learning and orthodoxy. The Valley of Kashmir surrounded as it was by the Muslim lands, could easily be assimilated with the rest of the Muslim India across the Attock river, North-Western province, Afghanistan and Persia "

During the 49 years of Aurangzeb's reign, Kashmir was administered by 14 Governors. Iftikhar Khan was most cruel of all these. The Sikh tradition speaks of the atrocities against the Brahmans of Kashmir and the visits of their deputation under the leadership of Pandit Kripa Ram Dutt of Mattan to Anandpur Saheb, Seva Singh, the author of Shahid Bilas has stated:

"Sorrow-stricken Brahmans came to Anandpur and said: "Protect us, O Lord, the son of Guru Hargobind. Hear our pathetic pleas. Guru Tegh Bahadur-protector of the poor and the cows, you are the prophet of the Almighty in the Kalyuga. We have none to go for help. Our condition is most pitiable. Protect us the way Lord Krishna protected Dropdi. We have gone from pillar to post. You are the Lord Krishna of the present age. We have no other hope. We seek refuge at thy feet. O Lord!"



Guru Tegh Bahadur, the 9th Sikh Guru heard their tale of woe. He gave them hope and courage. By telling Aurangzeb to convert him instead of the helpless Kashmiri Hindus, he drew the rage of the Mughal fanatic on him. The Guru's martyrdom along with his companions Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das and Bhai Dayal Das at Chandni Chowk, Delhi, saved Kashmiri Hindus.

Afghans brought Kashmir under their control by 1750 A.D. and made it a province of the kingdom of Kabul. Their atrocities made life unbearable for Kashmiris. One of the Pathan Governor, Asad Khan used to tie up Hindus two and two in grass sacks and sink them in the Dal Lake. Another Governor, Mir Hazar made an improvement and used leather bags instead of grass sacks for drowning Hindus. Another Governor, Atta Mohammad Khan was a terror to women both Hindu and Muslim. Jabbar Khan, who followed him, tried even to change the weather of the Valley. These events have been detailed in my book: "Unhappy Kashmir-The Hidden Story". During this darkest period of Pathan rule, Hindus were killed or converted. This massive genocide reduced them further to a small minority. Leaving aside their Islamic zeal, Pathan rulers were cruel to Muslims also. Peasantry and labour were crushed economically. Kashmiri Muslim labourers were used as ponies and forced labour (begar) was introduced.

The persecution of Kashmiri Hindus from 1400 A.D. to 1819 A.D. has been well-documented by a Muslim historian, Ghulam Hassan Khohami and Junaraja. During this period, thousands were made to embrace Islam by force, thousands were killed, others fled away. Many perished en-route while fleeing. Many consumed poison to escape the persecution while others burnt themselves in flaming fire. These are all historical facts which paved the way for conversion of Kashmir from a Hindu area to a Muslim majority area. It is an irony of fate that while the Kashmiri Hindus accommodated, mingled with and absorbed the culture and traditions of all outsiders, who came to Kashmir, they were repeatedly rewarded with the most inhuman and brutal treatment. The most valuable treasure of Kashmiri Hindus were their scriptures. These were brutally burnt. Heavy taxes were imposed on Hindus when allowed to live. Bestialities like the chopping of the noses and tongues, beheading, drowning in water after tying people back to back etc. were inflicted on the Hindus. Those who escaped forcible conversion, mutilation and death were forced into exile. The Muslim rule, with the exception of period under Budshah, is the story of terror and horror. However, since the native Muslims were overwhelmingly converts and belonged to the



same ethnic group as Hindus, there had been a local ethos in Islam as practised by the common Muslims, leaving the ruling lords aside. The period of Lal Ded and Nand Rishi was, no doubt, a period of spiritual renaissance for all Kashmiris put together. The converted Muslims had retained the essential ingredients of Hinduism. In fact, Islam in Kashmir acquired its own distinct colour and hue. The Sufi and Rishi order influenced Islam in Kashmir. The local devout Muslims believed in basic tenets of Islam, such as oneness of God, the Day of Judgement, the system of punishment and reward. But greater emphasis was laid on inner purification. They believed that the true meaning of Jihad was to wage a war against the evils inside man and true victory can be attained by curbing desires. The Rishis had a tremendous impact on the social and cultural life of Muslims and Hindus together. A Seventeenth century poet wrote: "The candle of religion is lit by the Rishis. This Vale of Kashmir that you call a paradise, owes a lot of its charm to the traditions set by them". The virtues of Kashmiri Islam as it developed by and by -- contemplation, asceticism, renunciation, abstinence, simplicity, co-existence, etc. were common to the virtues admired in Hinduism. But unfortunately the new interpretation of Islam got pushed into the Valley through Aligarh channels informally and under the auspices of Jamaat-i-Islami Hind through formal channels. Healthy traditions in Kashmir's culture were damaged and destroyed among the Muslims and unhealthy ones propped up and fertilized. Seeds of racism were planted by politicians with lust for power making Article 370 a tool for their power game. In the process Islam lost its Kashmiri ethos and even Sufism lost all its validity. On the occasion of Meraj-ul-alam, on 21st February, 1990, more than a lakh Muslims from Srinagar, using all modes of transport, reached Char-i-Sharief at the shrine of Sheikh-ul-Alam, Sheikh Nurruddin, the name by which Nand Rishi is known among the Muslims, and vowed to take Kashmir out of India and clear it of all non-believers. Since then there has been no mercy on the Hindus of Kashmir. This event was a watershed in the present insurgency. In the district town of Anantnag, killing of animals is forbidden during "Navratra" days in September-October, in reverence to the sacred memory of renowned Muslim saint Rishi Malloo Saheb, whose shrine in the heart of the town is a place of pilgrimage for Muslims as also Hindus. Muslims abstain from meat-eating during these days. But on account of intensive preachings of Imams from U.P., Delhi and other Indian cities, the Islamic ethos took an about-turn in Kashmir Valley. In the same town of Anantnag, in 1986, on the auspicious day of 'Janamash-tami', Qazi Nissar, an Islamic scholar and Mirwaize of South Kashmir,



came to the main thoroughfare of the Town called Lal Chowk, with a sheep and killed it by his own hand under the resounding clappings of thousands of Muslims, who had been specially asked to assemble there on the occasion. Qazi Nissar had announced in advance to do so as an act of deliberate aggressive provocation to the Hindus and as a signal that Islam would be followed this way only in Kashmir. The frightened Hindus of the town had sheltered themselves in their homes and Hindus in the rest of the country were fast asleep under secular sedatives.

*"Oh! Aaftaab tooney dekha hai sab zamaana,  
Kashmir kay chaman mein Panditon ka Ashiana.  
Ham shaandar apna itihaas pesh kartey,  
Hota na pustakoon per gar zulum wahshiana."*



### Chapter-3

## Crudities and Contradictions

"It is reason's pride to face reality when the garment of make-believe has been stripped away"

Kashmir Valley, the hub of present terrorist turmoil, is the most prosperous region of the country, where per capita income is far too higher than in any part of the country and much more above the national average. It is here that peasant proprietorship is the rule rather than an exception, where education is free from primary to University level, where loans or financial assistance from the Government agencies and commercial banks can be had for a song, sans worrying for ever about its repayment; where the central assistance on per capita basis is the highest in the country and where the central Government has always been very liberal to bestow grants and aid. The Valley, which only a few decades back, used to export labour to the plains in hordes, is now net importer of labour especially from Bihar and other States of the country. The saga of sudden change from rags to riches in a few decades, is a landmark unprecedented in the annals of sub-continent's history and must be seen to be believed.

The population of Kashmir Valley is around 30 lakhs just equal to that of Trans-Yamuna area of Delhi. For this small population, there is a silk factory, one of the biggest in the world and also many smaller silk factories. There are woollen mills, big and small and flourishing Carpet factories, electronics goods industries, stainless steel and leather factories, fruit-processing industries, H.M.T. Watch factory, Indian Telephone Industry (ITI), Cement factories, petroleum processing units. Besides, there are large number of medium and small-scale industries both in government and private sector.

Kashmir University has all the disciplines in Science, Arts, Commerce, law and Humanities besides exhaustive Courses for languages. There are number of colleges with separate ones for women. A Regional Engineering College, one Government Medical College and one private Medical College are also there. There is a separate Dental College. A prestigious Institute of Medical Sciences (like A.I.I.M.S.,



New Delhi) has been established in Srinagar. There are a number of Teachers' Training Colleges, Technology and Engineering Institutes and other professional institutes in the valley.

Kashmir Valley has a fulfilled Agricultural University and large number of research laboratories for silk, wool, rice, mulberry, drugs etc. There is hardly a sphere of activity, which the Central Government has undertaken either by itself or through the State Governments, which has not been sponsored in the Valley. There has been three times increase in Central assistance to Kashmir in the plan period 1984-89, which is not the case in other States. Similarly, per capita expenditure on development activities in J.&K. is Rs.962/- as against Rs.270/- in Bihar, Rs.490/- in Gujarat and Rs.822/- in H.P. Per capita consumption of electricity is much higher than in other States.

People in the Kashmir Valley have been provided for the last 45 years, subsidised cheap food (perhaps cheapest in the world), subsidised firewood, subsidised salts, subsidised pesticides for orchards, subsidised agricultural pursuits, cheaper feeds for animals, liberal loans for training in professional colleges outside the State (never returned), huge subsidies for establishment of industrial units, liberal loans for housing and what not. There is hardly any sphere of life where people of Kashmir did not get preferential treatment. The population of the State is just 0.8 percent of the country yet it received 2.7 percent of the national development outlay. Thus, the per head allocation in case of this State amounted to Rs. 1122/- while the per head allocation in case of other States of the country ranged between Rs. 67/- and about Rs. 300/- Five Year Plans are being totally financed by the Centre, as also assistance for staff salaries. While in other parts of the country various States are getting central assistance as 30 per cent grants and 70 per cent loans, Jammu and Kashmir is among the most-favoured parts where central assistance is being given as 90 percent grants and only 10 percent as loan. In the country as a whole, over 15 per cent people are houseless but in Kashmir Valley every family has got pacca house of its own. Such huge sums of money have been pumped into the Kashmir Valley to the neglect of other two regions during all these years that they have resulted in regional imbalances and regional tension within the State.

The insurgency and terrorism has not affected the prosperity of the Muslims of the Kashmir Valley. In fact, their prosperity has increased due to their having taken away immovable assets and agricultural property as also business establishments of the Hindus worth thousands of crores of rupees. Massive loans taken from financial institutions have not been



returned. No taxes or Government dues are paid in the Valley. Electricity charges, water Bills, telephone bills, sales tax bills, sales tax, excise duty nothing is paid to the Government. There is general impression that the economy of Kashmir Valley is heavily dependent on tourism. This is not a fact. Tourism contributes just 10 per cent to the States' domestic production. The approximate number of people directly employed in tourism is about 40,000. Most of the tourist activity is concentrated in Srinagar and a few sub-urban areas whereas 79 per cent of the people live and work in rural areas. The bulk of the employment under tourism is low-skill and relatively low-wage like the 'shikara' and a pony men, porters, waiters, cooks, drivers etcetera. This is the only seasonal employment for about 120 days in the year. Export of handicrafts has also registered a phenomenal growth in the last three years. This is particularly so with regard to carpet and embroidery trade. Interests of smaller handicraft merchants have also been safeguarded by the Government itself procuring their goods and selling them at various exhibitions specially set up in big cities of India. The traders have also been provided all the facilities to extend their marketing operations to many more cities like Lucknow, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Bangalore etc. The handicrafts sector accounts for 5 per cent of the State product.

In regard to horticulture, outflow of fruits has also been having a boom except minor set back in 1990 due to relatively poor crop that year. The wholesale prices in the Delhi 'Mandi' where bulk of distribution is transacted, have been extremely favourable and the net returns to the grower have actually been an improvement over the previous years. The fruits from orchards belonging to Hindus have also been taken over by the Muslims. Traditional trade channels have been kept open in spite of many non-Kashmiri traders having been murdered by the terrorists. The backbone of rural economy, which accounts for almost 80 per cent of the State's population, is agriculture, which means paddy cultivation. Kashmir Valley has had the highest per hectare paddy yields in the country since the mid 1960s. until very recently when productivity levels in Punjab forged ahead. Agriculture provides 40 per cent of the State product. There have been bumper paddy crops in 1990 and 1991. In 1992, there has been slight reduction due to floods. All the brunt of whatever destruction and disruption in the industrial sector has been borne by the Government. No inconvenience has been allowed to be caused to the people. Only sufferers have been 3 lakhs Hindus, who had to run away leaving behind even cooked food in the kitchen, which they could not take due to scare. Many people as a matter of habit and conjecture, and



presumption or under the influence of excessive propaganda, go on pleading that the unemployment among the educated youth is the reason for subversion. The unemployment problem is, no doubt, very acute in the Jammu region and among the hilly Gujjar population scattered in all the three regions. In the Kashmir Valley almost all educated people are gainfully self-employed in their traditional occupations. The Government job is sought for as a part-time venture, for prestige, status and extra money. There is acute shortage of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The average standard of living and the general quality of life in the Valley is far better than in any part of the country. The official data has been prepared in such a way as to show that about 17 per cent of population live below poverty line. The average for the whole country is 40 per cent. The percentage of 17 is lowest in the country. But this figure relates to the whole State and in actual reality applies to Ladakh and Jammu regions. In the Kashmir Valley, none lives below the poverty line. There is so much shortage of labour that men and women from outside the state from such far off areas as Bihar and Orissa have been brought into the States regularly for construction work and agricultural operations. During the last three years there has been unprecedented spurt in the construction of private houses and other buildings. As a result, labour shortage, both skilled and unskilled, has been greatly felt because fall in the inflow of labour from outside due to terrorism.

The J. & K. State Industrial Development Corporation sanctioned loans for setting up 46 industrial units in Srinagar during the year 1990 although it was a year of abnormal conditions. On the other hand, in Jammu where there was perfect peace, loans for only 42 units were sanctioned by the same Corporation. Similarly, the Jammu and Kashmir State Financial Corporation has continued to advance loans although its recoveries of earlier loans have come to nil. In a public notice, the J.K.S.F.C. nervously requested the borrowers to return their dues "so that other deserving people could get loans". This notice was published in all Urdu dailies of Srinagar. There was no response. Instead demonstration was held in the office premises of the Corporation on 28th August, 1991 by the concerned people against the Corporation's move to recover earlier loans. Threatening was also given against any impediments in the matter of sanctioning new loans. The Corporation has regularly been receiving applications for setting up industries and other purposes in spite of the turmoil in the Valley. Very often, the Corporation officers receive threats from the terrorists for not sanctioning loans to particular individuals. To save their own lives, the officers approve the



applications without evaluating a project. At times even the necessary formalities are not completed. Loans have been released without verifying if these were actually used for the purpose they were taken. In fact, such is the situation that no one dare ask a question if a militant showed interest in the case. Loans were regularly advanced during the last three years. But there were no recoveries.

The cry goes up from the Valley from the usual quarters at convenient intervals that they are the poorest and most unemployed and exploited and that they would be better off in Pakistan. This is taken up in full-throated chorus by Indian media and "intellectuals". And the Central Government of the time--without exception--rushed with bagfuls of money, with appropriate apologies and with folded hands to soothen them till the time for the next round arrives. It is totally wrong to hold that lack of economic development might have created discontent in the Valley. The fact is that accession and secession have been existing side by side so far as Kashmir Valley has been having full autonomy with two colonies of Ladakh and Jammu under its control. And this independence to do anything the State Government (which actually meant Muslims of Kashmir) wished without being challenged from any quarter, has brought the Valley to the present turmoil,. In 1947 itself Sheikh Abdullah virtually demanded a separate Muslim State which did not form part of a secular India and which underlined the recognition of the separate political identity of the Muslims of the State. As later events proved, the Sheikh aimed at weaning away the State from Pakistan and after that was achieved, pull it out of India and reconstitute it into an independent Muslim State. When Sheikh and his Muslim Conference had risen against the Maharaja in 1931, he rallied the Muslims with anti-Hindu and directly anti-Kashmiri Pandit slogans and sentiments. Launching virulent attacks against Kashmiri Pandits in his public meeting preceded by resonant recitations from the Holy Quran, the Sheikh exhorted his followers to rise and fight the autocrat and reduce the exploiters, the Hindus to dust and leave only scavenging for them to make a living. These stirring exhortation woke up the silent simple folk and made them highly conscious politically and articulate. At the same time, the seeds of disaffection were sown in them against their fellow Kashmiris albeit of a different faith. When Maharaja was forced to abdicate, in the absence of any alternative democratic set-up, Abdullah considered himself to have become "Sultan". All he wanted was to carve out a little Pakistan for himself at the expense of India. He made a show of his firm belief in secularism but failed to put it in practice. His approach to all problems was communal.



While he had no objection to receiving huge sums of money from the Centre as aid his belief in secularism did not allow him to agree to the application to his Muslim majority State of the secular democratic constitution of India not even fundamental rights guaranteed therein. And to ensure that no laws made by the Indian Parliament applied to the State, a special status was obtained for Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. But this does not prevent the M.Ps. from the state to fully participate in the discussions and voting when laws are made for the rest of the country. They often give long sermons on this and on that keeping themselves and their state aloof.

The apologists for special status for Kashmir exhibit their ignorance when they say that Kashmir's accession was not like other State and that the State was still governed by the Constitutional Order of 1939 promulgated by the Maharaja Hari Singh in that year. Surely, they are not ignorant. They are using this as a comfoulage to their desire of carving out a third Islamic country in the sub-continent and at the same time wanting India to continue to be secular which means no-man's land to be claimed as a Muslim country subsequently. With the rate of increase in Muslim population, unabated Muslim infiltration from all sides particularly from the East and what happened on Black Friday on 12th of March, 1993 in Bombay, this possibility need not be laughed at. In the last 45 years, Article 370 has proved to be most delirious for the country. Instead of achieving any healthy results that may have been expected of it, it has had the opposite effect of preventing Kashmir's integration with the rest of the country. It has strengthened the sense of separate identity among the Kashmiri Muslims, insulated them against mianstrem Indian influence, encouraged separatism and secessionism, fostered Islamic fundamentalism, anti-national sentiments and pro-Pakistan loyalties, promoted terrorism and created serious problems of national insecurity in this strategic border state.

Article 370 was adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India about two years after Kashmir's accession. It was a political concession wrested by the willy Sheikh Abdulah. Abdullah had to opt for India under the force of circumstances. His prime compulsion was Pakistan's arrogant determination to take over the State by force and ignore all the local political elements. He had serious reservations about Kashmir being an integral part of India. As his own speeches and declassified documents of the U.S. State Department reveal, he was working towards independent Kashmir under his own domination. Like the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, this Article was part of a "Strategy" to ward off temporary



obstacles. Like all other princes, the Kashmir ruler signed a proclamation in 1950 accepting Indian Constitution. There was a clear finality about this. At present, Article 370 or autonomy is not the issue with the secessionists. The issue is secession from India - as an independent identity or as part of Pakistan. The follies committed by successive regimes in New Delhi and their stooges in Srinagar in the name of democracy cannot be allowed to be continued any more. Kashmir has to be integrated with India like any other State. Article 370 was inspired by political theories and an ideology that has been proved wrong by history. It has created another divide based on residency in the State. Further, more politicians of the ruling party made embrace of the Article to be axiomatic for a belief in secularism. Anyone who has questioned the wisdom of retention of Article 370 is dubbed a communalist, an abscuntist and worse. The psychology related to Article 370 has made Muslims feel that their State is not quite a part of India. This feeling is one reason that they have not generally sought jobs outside their State. The forces unleashed by these policies have led to progressively greater alienation of the Muslims of the State. This is the major cause why Pakistan's brew of intrigues has never suffered from lack of fuel. Fundamentalists have seized upon this disaffection and they have targetted in Hindus as being representative of unjust order. The uncertainty must be ended once and for all. Article 370 must go. The rest of the Constitution is fair enough to safeguard the rights of every Indian particularly Muslims who have special safeguards as a minority community. Judiciary is independent to uphold the Constitution. A special status smacks of lack of faith in the secular democratic Constitution of India on the part of those who ask for it as well as those who grant it. What more do the people of Kashmir Valley want if not equality of treatment with all others in the country. With the complete integration of the State with the rest of the country and full application of the Indian Constitution, neither the communal majority in India will be in a position to exploit or oppress the communal minority anywhere including Kashmir nor will the communal majority in the State itself be able to oppress or exploit the communal minority within the State.

The accession had settled the position of the State legally and emotionally too. But the Pakistan invasion has sundered a part of it and put it under their occupation. Then a straightforward reference to the United Nations for vacation of this aggression had given the interests inimical to India the opportunity to transform it into a complex and confusing proposition leaving the wound open and festering without end.



When the reality of political power came to the hands of Sheikh, he could not conceal his personal and dynastic ambition and dictatorial behaviour. He used Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad against Afzal Beg and vice versa and Sadiq against both. The romantic handsome, daredevil Muhiddin Karra, a powerful man of the organisation, left out of the glamour, power and pelf of ministership, whose name alone would turn on youth, women and men and who broke away from the National Conference and set up Political Conference to propogate the case of Pakistan. The effect of it all was that opinion was building up among some sections of population in the tiny Valley about the advisability of the decision they had opted for. The Shekh's hold seemed to be slipping. To regain it, he went to the extreme step of turning against India openly.

The Islamisation of the political and economic organisation of Kashmir began as soon as power was formally handed over to Sheikh on 5th march, 1948. The exclusion of Jammu and Kashmir from the purview of the Indian Constitution by virtue of Article 370 in 1949, marked the formal acceptance of Muslim identity of the Jammu and Kashmir state. Sheikh Abdullah told Jawaharlal Nehru brazen-facedly that Kashmir was a Muslim-majority State and, therefore, it could not be integrated into the Union of India as that would bring the Muslims under the domination of the Hindu majority India. (Jammu and Ladakh had no place in Nehru's thinking as unfortunate Hindus and Buddhists were in majority there). The immediate fall-out of this autonomy of the State under Article 370 was that it deprived the people of Jammu and Kashmir state which included Ladakh of all constitutional safeguards. Pandits were deprived of right to equality before the law, exposing them to severe discrimination, communal persecution, political oppression and economic deprivation. No wonder that from 1947 to 1989, more than three lakh of them were, slowly and steadily, squeezed out of the State. Now from 1990 onwards, the remaining three lakh have been banished as a result of genocide which has taken place in the cause of establishment of "Nizam-e-Mustafa". Thus the Valley of Kashmir has been cleared of all the Hindus and de facto Islamic set up established although still within the broader framework of Indian Constitution.

The problem of terrorism had grown steadily from the time of accession through systematic propoganda and fundamentalisation of Kashmiri Islam. From the 1948 itself, Sheikh Abdullah had been talking of independence for Kashmir in selected fora while advocating permanent relationship with India on the surface. Article 370 had made the element of divisiveness inherent in the set up through its promise to ensure that rights



of citizens were denied to vast sections and portals of power were monopolised by a small group. Kashmir terrorism is a pampered-oriented terrorism due to Government trying to appease dissidents by acquiescing in anything wrong or right they demanded. To bow before the bully was to invite the butcher the next day. The attitude of Indian decision-makers had been determined by the "spirit of Munich". A vague hope has been entertained that tomorrow would be alright.

Towards the last days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's life, personal relations between him and Sheikh Abdullah were re-established. Nehru invited Abdullah to Delhi and latter came and stayed with Nehru for several days. The sum-total of prolonged parleys between these two old friends was that Abdullah would then onwards work for India-Pakistan amity. The two were reported to be convinced that if this amity was achieved, all pending problems between the two countries including that of Kashmir could be solved by mutual goodwill. Abdullah arrived in Rawalpindi and had prolonged discussions with Pakistan's President, General Ayub Khan. Abdullah was alleged to have sought Pakistan President's support in the form of arms and ammunition for Kashmiri youth to enable them to take Kashmir away from India. After developing personal rapport with President Ayub Khan, Abdullah was about to go on an extensive tour of Pakistan-occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir. However, fate willed otherwise. Nehru suddenly passed away. Abdullah was shocked and grieved. He returned to Delhi. In the absence of Nehru at the helm in India, he found his plans going awry. Now he had to confront down to earth Indian leaders like the Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Congress President K. Kamaraj, Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda, Foreign Minister Sardar Swarn Singh and Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan. For these leaders, personal friendship had no meaning in dealing with national affairs.

He now desired to go to Mecca for "Haj". He was gladly allowed to do so. But instead of going straight to Mecca for performing haj, he left for England. He was accompanied by his wife, Begum Akbar Jehan, Mirza Afzal Beg and Peer Abdul Ghani of Anantnag. Probably it is for such people that the famous Urdu Poet, Maulana Hali has said :

"Sidharein Peer Kaaba ko Ham Inglistaan Jayengey,  
Khuda ka noor woh dekhein Ham Khuda ki shann dekhengey".

(Let the priests go to Kaaba (Mecca), we will go to England. Let them see the light of God, we will see the glory and grandeur of God).



The Indian Government bore all his expenses and those of his companions. But he repaid his debt there and then. He delivered seditious speeches in the meetings which he addressed in London and other places. He addressed meetings of Mirpuris called in Birmingham and other cities of England. He praised Mirpuris for showing more life than Kashmiris. From England he went to Paris and from there reached Mecca. After meeting Saudi leaders he left for Egypt to meet President Nasser. He solicited Nasser's support for Kashmir's freedom but drew blank. Later he left for Algeria where, besides Algerian leaders he met Chau-En-Lai, the Prime Minister of China. Chou assured him all support and announced it publicly.

Instead of building a relationship with the masses, the successive Indian Governments focussed on personalities, who were interested in personal power and fiefdom. The relationship has been based on deception and duplicity. The State leaders, irrespective of whatever party label they carried, were power brokers and practised opportunistic secularism. Whenever they faced even a slight threat to their power, they raised the cry of Kashmiri identity. The secularism practised by the State leadership was phoney and it had always vascillated between secularism and communalism to suit the occasion in its reckless search for power. Democracy in the State was only in form but not in substance. The leaders never failed to exploit the religious abscrutism always with an anti-India strain during elections. Sheikh Abdullah seldom hesitated to use Islam as part of his power game. When the Indian National Congress extended its organisation to Jammu and Kashmir and established a separate Pradesh Congress Committee in 1966, Shekih Abdullah issued a "Fatwa" (religious decree) from Hazratbal Shrine labelling Congress Party as an organisation of infidels. He declared that it would be a sin to offer "namaaz-e-janaza" (funeral prayers) for Mislms who were members of the Congress Party. He also launched a movement named "Tarak-i-Mawalaat" (boycott of Congress Muslims). As a rival strategy, Congress leaders in the state propped up Jamaat-i-Islami.

It has been the misfortune of this country that whenever one correct step was taken, it was subsequently followed by steps which were all wrong. In 1953, people of the State had hoped that the political uncertainty was over and that they could settle down to live a peaceful life. But that was not to be. The inevitability of the return of Sheikh Abdullah was kept alive by the Indian authorities, which hung as the sword of Damacles over each succeeding Government. One cannot help lamenting that there is not even one step in this long and tortuous and unending



journey that our Government might have taken with a clear vision and thoughtfully on Kashmir. If ever a step was taken with a clear vision, it was backtracked. Seeds of discard were sown in during Abdullah's initial stewardship. After getting the Maharaja removed, the Sheikh showed his inner urges and claws and fell out with the erstwhile saviors. He found it below his dignity to talk to Jawaharlal Nehru even on telephone. No doubt he lost his throne in 1953 but had succeeded in sowing the thorns of discard with India in simple and malleable minds of the Muslims of the Valley. His lieutenants who succeeded him were taken up by the driving desire but formidable task of holding on to power. They were left with little choice other than purchasing peace on the surface by constant and increasing doses of appeasement, which flowed in from the Centre at an extravagant scale. The more the people were sought to be appeased and pampered the more they were emboldened to ask for the moon. Rampant corruption was a necessary concomitant, which inevitably created pockets of scandalous and stinking riches on one side and burning anger of discrimination against large section on the other. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed did try and succeeded to a great extent in making some developmental advances in the State but the sword of religious fanaticism was always kept dangling over his head by his ambitious opponents, who outwardly called themselves 'leftists'. Sadiq tried and succeeded to a great extent in consolidating the gains of economic emancipation achieved by the people of the State during Bakshi regime. He tried his best to uphold the rule of law and wanted to do away with Article 370. But as a man dependent on pills and potions, he could not face the strain created by his young colleagues, who proved to be conspiratorial and with only skin-deep faith in democracy and secularism. After Sadiq's death, Mir Qasim became the Chief Minister. He appeared to be travelling but not arriving. His regime was free for all sorts of people. It is said that in Germany everything was prohibited unless permitted by the law. In France, everything was permitted unless prohibited by law. In Italy, everything was permitted particularly that which was prohibited by the law and in erstwhile USSR, everything was prohibited that which was permitted by the law. In Qasim's Kashmir, the scenario of the group of European countries mentioned above was operative in its entirety, i.e. Everything was permitted from smuggling, cultivation of charas, fundamentalist intrusion and above all silent squeezing of minorities. Everybody, who was somebody, usurped government land to turn into a big orchardist. Forests were destroyed by countless leasees who mushroomed on the political horizon. Mir Qasim ultimately handed over the



"Riyasat" to Sheikh Abdullah, according to him, its rightful owner and himself shifted to Central arena for fresh greenery and safe pastures. He became a Cabinet Minister in Indira Gandhi's Government and adopted the wiser way of digesting what he had acquired in two decades of his activities in the turbulent Valley. In those days, uncharitable remarks about the quality and cost of material used in the foundation of his house in Srinagar was the talk of the town. The "Riyasat" handed over to Sheikh Abdullah was, in turn, made over by the latter to his son, Farooq Abdullah. His son-in-law, G.M.Shah snatched away the same from his brother-in-law for a short span by an intrigue. The son retook it with the help of Delhi durbar and faithfully paved the way for terrorist take-over. Terrorists are now planning to hand-over the Valley to Pakistan or declare themselves as an independent new Pakistan. Poor Kashmiris are wondering that their State had acceded to India in 1947 and for what sins are they being kicked like a football for the last 45 years. For what fault of theirs has India foresaken them and thrown them to vultures.

Having engaged in a war with Pakistan over Kashmir, Indian leadership worked with a remarkable stupidity. Our leadership foolishly internationalised the issue and allowed it to get mixed up with the exigencies of cold war. When the Indian Army recaptured Baramulla on 7th November, 1947 and Muzaffarabad and Mirpur were within its grasp, the Indian leadership entered into a cease-fire agreement under the influence of a British Governor-General, creating a stalemate which has dogged us ever since. After 17 years we fought another war with Pakistan. It produced the Tashkent Declaration. Both countries solemnly agreed not to change the status-quo except by mutual consent. In law and fact, it meant that unless the parties by mutual consent and with affectionate understanding, voluntarily agreed to make changes, the existing position will remain binding on them. The next conflict was not over Kashmir but over Bangladesh. At the end of that war in 1971, Pakistan was a shattered nation, physically, emotionally and economically. Ideologically, its moral basis had crumbled and its confidence was brutally shaken. If ever India had control over the situation, it was in 1972. Such opportunities never recur nor do they last long. India was in a position to impose a final solution. On July 3, 1972, a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan was signed. The Shimla Agreement appeared to have been dictated by vanquished Pakistan's cornered Bhutto to India's victorious Indira Gandhi. He got back 93,000 troops who were prisoners' of war in India and some lost territory plus the area which it had wrested in Chhamb against just a promise on paper that Kashmir issue too would be settled



bilaterally, Shimla Agreement turned out to be only a ruse to get out of the Indian net, which could have been an iron grip in the bands of a more resolute nation.

Sheikh Abdullah, after a decade of self-exile and fruitless wanderings was brought back to power in Kashmir. This was done by Indira Gandhi, who had panicked after realising that crafty Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his more intelligent daughter, Benazir had outwitted her in Shimla. Internally, it was a tumultuous time in India's history. In mid-seventies people were distraught by painful political uncertainties and leadership was engaged in sharp mutual confrontations. On his part, the Sheikh settled down to secure his "Riyasat" and his "Quom" for his dynastic rule. Inevitably, his son and wife on one side and his daughter and son-in-law on the other, started their schemes for capturing the throne in right Mughal style. When the Sheikh passed away, the struggle intensified even while Farooq had taken over the Chief Ministership. Gul Shah was waiting in the wings and smarting. Both had created their resources of men and material and had armed their respective bands of goons to give battle to the other. In his last span of reign, the "lion of Kashmir" had succumbed to the temptation of allowing his wife-Madar-e-Meharban-(it was common talk that the Begum actually sat and counted the notes to ensure that the bribe was what it was purported to be ) to accept capitulation fee for entrance into professional colleges.

When the Sheikh returned to his throne, he set about to insulate his "Riyasat" and "Quom" against imperialist India with determination but with little noise. After him his son and son-in-law fending all the time and making good fertile ground for the sessionists and Islamic fundamentalists to thrive, who now hold the Valley under their heel. Sheikh had by now thrown away all his life-long colleagues like dead rats. He was now keen to push out the only leader who was still around-Afzal Beg. Sheikh considered him a thorn in his dynastic aims. Beg, a sickman struck with many chronic diseases, had earlier canvassed for his son-in-law-Yaqub Beg, for being elected to the Legislative Council. Yaqub Beg had also been a political leader of some standing in Anantnag district. Sheikh considered this move as a parallel dynastic manoeuvre. Afzal Beg, who was next only to Sheikh in the Government and the Party, had perhaps for the first time visited Delhi alone and on his own initiative. In connection with official matters, he met Mr Morarji Desai then Prime Minister of India. On his return to Srinagar he found Sheikh furious. In a sudden and dramatic move, Sheikh dismissed Afzal Beg from the Cabinet, expelled him from the primary membership of the party and launched a



tirade against him of being an Indian agent. Beg was intelligent but crafty and had been pro-secessionist and communal from day one. He had good following in some parts of the Valley particularly in Anantnag district. On witnessing unprecedented humiliation of their leader (for which also they blamed India), his followers joined various secessionist organisations like Peoples' League, Mahaz-e-Azadi etc. Beg's son, Mahboob Beg, later joined hands with Gul Shah to take revenge from Farooq. No wonder that secessionist activities, which till then were confined to northern border areas of the Valley, appeared with full fury in the southern areas more pronouncedly in Anantnag town. Earlier, Sheikh's another life-long colleague, Sufi Mohammad Akbar, on being marginalised by the Sheikh, had under sheer disillusionment, founded a new secessionist organisation named Mahaz-e-Azadi with its headquarters at Sopore. Another leader who became frustrated on account of India's surrender to Sheikh's personal dictatorship was Abdul Ghani Lone. He was a Congressman and a senior Cabinet Minister in the Congress Ministry headed by Mir Qasim. As a Minister, he had many good measures to his credit particularly in the field of education. He termed India's surrender to Sheikh as a humiliation of the people. So, from a staunch Congressman he became a secessionist and founded pro-Pak People's Conference. When Afzal Beg was lying seriously ill in S.M.H.S. Hospital, Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah as Chief Minister, visited the hospital to enquire about his health. Putting his right hand on his forehead, enquired from Beg whether he could recognise him. Beg looked up and concentrating his eyes on Sheikh, replied in a feeble voice that if he could not recognise him with his close association for fifty years, how could he do so in the last moments of his life.

In Sheikh's Government corruption knew no bounds. His son-in-law Ghulam Mohammad Shah (Gul Shah) was the law unto himself. He had formed an army of toughs, whose job was to roam about in the city and shout: "Gul Shah----Baadshah". What India practised in Kashmir right from 1947 was not real politik. Far from that, a new philosophy was evolved and the modus operandi of its implementation was to buy a people by giving them absolute liberty to be corrupt thus suffuse them with money. It was a new version of a pack with Mephistophles at a national level. As should have been anticipated, the experiment a politico-sociological one was bound to fail and come home to roost. In a bid to pamper the Valley, Jammu and Ladakh have been ignored in the matter of development, employment and educational opportunities. The successive Kashmir-dominated governments have treated these regions with



contempt. The recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission, which looked into the grievances of the Jammu people, are gathering dust like the one about setting up of regional boards. Even the mercy of providing an Engineering College for Jammu had not been shown to the people of the region. Another Commission was appointed to recommend creation of more districts in Jammu region. The Commission recommended creation of three more districts. But this recommendation has also been kept aside to gather dust. No wonder, three new districts Kupwara, Pulwama, Badgam were instantly created in the Kashmir Valley. Also Shopian was constituted into a sub-district. Two more new districts were on the anvil in the Valley, one consisting the areas of Sonawari and Bandipore and the other at Kulgam. This was personally announced by Farooq Abdullah in August 1989.

In the air-bus coalition ministry of Congress and National Conference headed by Dr Farooq Abdullah, there was not a single Minister from Ladakh. How can Buddhists be denied the right to preserve their ethnic identity which they regarded as important as the "Kashmiriat" in the Valley. People of Ladakh have given no mandate to Kashmiris to speak for Ladakh. But the Government of India continues to give veto power to Kashmiri leaders in regard to the fate of Ladakh. After persistent agitation and prolonged discussions, an agreement had been reached for setting up of Hill Council for Ladakh region. A meeting between the Union Home Minister and Ladakhi leaders was fixed for 3 P.M. on 9th April, 1992 at New Delhi. All issues having been agreed and settled, the only agenda for the meeting was announcement of the formula of a Hill Council. Mr Saif-u-Din Soz, former M.P. and prominent spokesman of Farooq Abdullah, utilised his veto and stalled the proposal of a Hill Council. The meeting was cancelled at the eleventh and half hour. Later, Soz said: "...The point of time was important. The decisive meeting to announce the formation of a Hill Council for Ladakh was fixed for 3 P.M. on 9th April, 1992.. By noon that day, I had apprised the Governor of my point of view and demanded that the Home Minister should be told plainly that he would be inviting trouble if Hill Council for Ladakh were announced. I had also told the Governor that he represented the President of India but certainly not the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Later on that day I had sent a note to the Home Minister as also to the Prime Minister. On 10th April, 1992, I was invited by the Home Minister to discuss the matter with him. The Governor of the State was also present. I made a decisive statement in the meeting that the question of providing a Hill Council to Ladakh was not only ill-advised but also ill-timed. In the



meantime, I had also charged that the Ladakh Buddhist Association was working with the support and directions from B.J.P. and, therefore, the Central Government will be well-advised to ponder over the likely political fall-out of the move". By using his veto power, Mr Soz has also plainly warned the the Government and the people of India that the President of India does not represent Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. That right is tied to a pole in Mujahid Manzil, which is now under the control of terrorists. In 1945, the British Government asked its Governor-General and Viceroy in India to solve the political imbroglio. Wavell called a conference at Shimla and also held personal discussions with top leaders of all major political parties. After meeting the Viceroy, when Jinnah came out of the meeting, he told waiting press men that now general elections may soon be held in the country. It was apparent that Wavell had confided in Jinnah and in a way asked him to be ready for the polls. He did not give any such direction to the Congress leaders like Jawahar Lal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and others who had met him earlier. This made Gandhiji to exclaim in exasperation: "Who rules India? Wavell or Jinnah? The same question is relevant now. Who runs the Government of India. Rao or Soz?"

As narrated earlier, much of the most part of the enormous plan, loan and other assistance funds flow to the Valley. And because much of these funds have always gone into the pockets of a relatively small but influential persons or politically aggressive factions and black-mailing elements, the overall development of the State as a whole and Jammu and Ladakh markedly so has progressed at a low rate relative to the immeasurable outlays provided by the Centre. Many other benefits get channelled into the Valley, which are not so visible--concessions and subsidies in Kashmiri handicraft. Nelson's eye is turned on Narcotic production and trafficking, complete tax evasion to name but a few. The tragedy of Kashmir is how closely it mirrors the Iranian situation towards the end of seventies, where the ruling elite either belonging to Congress or National Conference was compared to Pahelvis and India to the "great Satan", America. India invested all the trust in Qasim's, Muftis, Farooqs, Kars and Sozs and their coteries of power-hungry associates, (about five thousand families), who usurped all the judicial and constitutional process in the State for their personal financial gain, alienated the masses and provided a breeding ground for the Islamic fundamentalists. Paradoxically, it is the younger generation of these families, who are in the vanguard of terrorism, to escape the wrath of the masses and pass of the same to India and Hindus. Without the remotest hint of accountability,



autonomy became an instrument of expediency at the hands of unscrupulous politicians to promote coterie rule so much so that some 80 per cent of the total assets in the State were controlled by a tiny group comprising 15 to 20 per cent of the population. The cumulative effect of this distortion was widespread popular alienation-rigging merely aggravated the phenomenon-of the people with the power structure. Under the circumstances, it was only natural that popular discontent assumed strong anti-India overtones, more so since the ruling party was identified as extension of Indian dominance. Article 370 compounded the problem. A basically correct and upright policy was never adopted. In order to sustain this expedient approach, one evil led to another. When corrupting people didn't meet the ephemeral ends, elections were sought to be rigged. The nomination papers of non-Congress candidates in all the fifteen Assembly constituencies of Anantnag district (which included Pulwama district also) in 1967, were rejected with one flourish of the D.C.'s pen. Thus, all the Congress candidates which included the PCC Chief, Syed Mir Qasim, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed among others, were declared elected unopposed to the Assembly. Also elected unopposed was the Congress candidate for the Lok Sabha from the Anantnag constituency, Mohammad Shafi Qureshi. It was a common talk that M.L.A.s during that election had been made by khaliq (the name of the D.C.) and not by maalik, the voter. Never have the "progressives", communists, scholars at JNU or fellows of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, "intellectuals" and eminent journalists, who are using the columns of our national dailies and other journals, week after week, projecting the cause of those demanding autonomy, uttered or written a word about the enjoyment of this autonomy by Kashmir all these decades. In fact, these distinguished men and women had been rushing to the beautiful Valley to enjoy themselves fully the hospitality of the Government of the time during the summer months. As if to repay the debt, despatches used to be sent from there and articles consisting of two or three series written on return, lavishing unprecedented praise on the government whether of Sheikh, Bakshi, Sadiq, Qasim or Farooq. Now that the king has fallen, they talk of rigging of elections. One has only to go through the files of newspapers to be amused.

In March, 1987, in Dr Farooq Abdullah's constituency of Ganderbal, counting of votes started at 9 a.m. By 9-30 a.m. he was reported to be leading by a decisive margin and by noon it was announced that he had been elected by a margin of about 25000 votes. he was flooded with telegrms congratulating him on his splendid and well-deserved victory.



At night, on a special live programme on Doordarshan, he was interviewed by a distinguished journalist, who congratulated him and hoped he would lead the State to progress and prosperity. Farooq had got 95 per cent of votes polled. A wag had commented on this, Farooq would have got 100 per cent votes but it appeared that communal forces in India had encroached upon the State's autonomy and special status and thus caused loss of five per cent votes for Farooq. Election over, it was all hip hip hurray. The eminent persons, who are never tired of speaking in seminars and symposia, lament that "we have failed to give justice and democracy to Kashmiris". They have no moral courage to explain who are "we" and who are "them". Who is standing in the way of applying in full the Indian Constitution, which is democratic, to the State of J.&K. After all, it was under the auspices of Indian Constitution that the election of mighty Indira Gandhi was set aside in 1975. It was the Indian Constitution under whose auspices, Mr. V.M. Tarkunde, Rajni Kothari and other distinguished persons succeeded in ordering repoll in the constituency of late Rajiv Gandhi. It was under the auspices of Indian constitution that handful of people succeeded in getting the election in Mahim cancelled and depriving Mr Om Prakash Chautala of his Chief Ministership. Have these progressives courage to admit that Kashmiris can never get democracy so long as Indian Constitution does not apply to the State in full. Hoodlums, masquerading as political leaders, under the protection of Article 370, will always ensure that they thrived at the cost of common man. This Article has created a strange phenomenon in Kashmir. So long as one is in power, he is with India. The moment he loses power, he is for Pakistan or independence.

After all, why do the terrorists whom we respectfully call militants, want Azadi? And who, our "progressive" assure us, may settle for autonomy, if India shows the towel. They want to have a religious State in Kashmir - to be guided by principles, tenets and traditions of Islam. Inequalities between Muslims and non-Muslims are inevitable in such a State. A religious state can be created and maintained through absolute power in the hands of a chosen few blessed by God. The masses must follow them and obey their commands. the idea of liberty, equality and fraternity is an anti-thesis of religious State. Democracy and theocracy cannot go together. In a religious state there can be neither democracy nor justice. Minorities, if allowed to live, are doomed to live as second class citizens. An eminent journalist, who has a weekly column in a National Daily, has, while ridiculing the blinkered Kashmir experts suggested: "Autonomy should no longer be considered a dirty word since



nearly every State is clamouring for it in varying degrees. Kashmir could become the beginning of some genuine decentralisation". It amounts to saying that Kashmir will act as a model for other states to have their own "Nizam-e-Mustafa". This distinguished journalist has also referred to some three realities and has also demanded that India work for getting trust of Kashmiris. With her successful discovery of realities, her non-blinkered eyes have not been able to see the staring reality of three lakh natives having been uprooted from their abodes and forced to bite dust in hostile terrains. For her it appears to be a small accident of a cart hitting a plant, at a sub-urban way-side, requiring not even filing of an F.I.R. at some police post. To her, there is no need for Kashmiri Muslims to get the trust of this minority community. How can Hindus have any rights? They are a consumable commodity. The pseudo-secular scribes have not so far realised that the re-writing of history by fundamentalists in the Kashmir Valley has produced heaps of horrors. But the degeneration of Kashmir Valley from modernism to medeaval fundamentalism is given respectability. They want Government and the country to crawl before the group of terrorists who call themselves J.K.L.F., because the group does not want to join Pakistan but wants Jammu and Kashmir to be an independent State, as if demanding independence is an act of high patriotism. (It is an after-point if Pakistan will allow them to remain independent once they separate from India). A free Kashmir will be like an earthen pipkin which will be shattered by Pakistan in no time. Joint guarantee has no meaning. It presupposes functional co-operation between Indian and Pakistan, which is not possible.

JKLF is as fundamentalist as Hizb-ul-Mujahiddeen. In our country it has not been fully realised that so far whipping of religious frenzy is concerned, there is little difference between JKLF and other groups. In an interview to "Sadai-e-Hurriat" one of the three mouthpieces of subversive organisation, on February 9, 1990, Hilal Beg, the then Chief of J&K Students Liberation Front, dispelled the impression that JKLF was secular. He quoted Aman Ullah Khan's statement in which he said: "Islam is our soul, our faith, we do not believe in any othe ideology. We are dedicated to the cause of Islamic Republic". The maximum number of Hindus in Kashmir were killed by the memebtrs of JKLF. We must bow to the knowledgeability of the "secularists" of our country. In Kashmir, terrorists have decreed that all women young and old should cover their bodies from head to toe. Violators are subjected to acid thrown on their faces. In this manner no woman can work in farms and fields, factories and offices, for that matter anywhere. They must hide each and every limb



so that men could keep their sexual lust under check. All liquor retail outlets have been ordered to be closed. Because if they are open, people will go and buy it. This shows how their determination and belief in their religious tenets is shallow. It only shows that if it is available, no tenet will stand in the way of people to go in for it. But if it is not available abstinacy is compulsory. However, aqua vita is smuggled into the Valley in drums from Jammu and other places. Perhaps the terrorists also need the fluid to acquire Dutch courage.

Politically the Kashmir Valley Muslims have been the most dominant in the State. They hold the largest number of seats in legislature and the Cabinet and all the Chief Ministers have hailed from this section of the people of the State. Similarly, they occupy the most important and influential position in the State administration and its different limbs. A large number of Kashmiri Muslims prospered immensely in the four decades. By being pampered all the time they became bereft of sense of responsibility a citizen owes to his State. Greed stifled their development. All the Kashmiri Muslims, a majority of about 95 per cent were declared to be economically backward. A system of quotas in schools, colleges and jobs was instituted. These quotas not only applied at the entrance levels of Government Departments but also for promotion to higher ranks. Soon this system was further perverted so that candidates from Muslim community were not chosen according to the merit either. The bureaucratic system that emerged in Kashmir must have been one of the most corrupt in India and the whole world. It must be realised that Muslims in Kashmir as elsewhere in the sub-continent are socially divided in castes that have traditionally worked in different occupations. Since performance and skill were not determinants for hiring, the urban Muslim elites, who were from the few selected castes, were able to carve out a lion's share in Government openings. The nature of the quota system makes it out as an entitlement, so there has been a great deal of resentment in the weaker Muslim castes about this matter.

Seeing the richness extra-ordinary, the rest of the average rich sections became envious. Charas cultivation mushroomed. Narcotic trade started vibrating with the veins of youth, who dreamed of becoming millionaires overnight. The golden crescent offered smuggling opportunities on unprecedented scale involving both young and old. This polluted the basic fabric of working life styles of masses. When this trade was subjected to surveillance, the youth demanded secession. This greed of easy money brought the youth in contact with international underworld. All the Governments, irrespective of their label, gave free hand



to the rich to become richer. Article 370 had already protected the rich sections from paying any taxes, wealth tax, gift tax etc. There was hardly any assessee for income-tax. The State was also not covered by the Urban Land Ceiling Act. As regards land reforms, there was no scope for any improvement at all. The Land Reforms Act, 1950 and then of 1971 had made Kashmir a unique model in the entire world. This created new landed aristocracy in the villages.

Sheikh Abdullah had given the slogan of "Izzat and Abroo" - honour and dignity-under the canopy of Article 370. So, there was not only freedom but licence to the economic offenders. The only condition was to make offerings to the Begum for "Tanzeem" and to Sheikh himself for "Auqaf". Whatever "Nazool" or any Government or public land was available in rural areas, it was usurped by bigwigs for creating their private orchards. All such land in towns and the city was taken over by the "Auqaf". It was a common sight to find a signboard coming up suddenly on any vacant land claiming to be belonging to 'Auqaf'. Sometimes claim was even advanced to the land belonging to a Hindu shrine. The ancient Ashram of Gautam Rishi at Gautamnag was suddenly claimed to be a Muslim graveyard a few years' back. Dispute was still sub-judice when Hindus themselves were driven out en mass. In Srinagar city, a plot of land near Ram Bagh owned by Government of India, Department of Telecom, and earmarked for much needed staff quarters, was one Friday declared to be Idgah. In fact, Auqaf has been running a parallel revenue department. Huge chunks of land were given to fundamentalists for Idgahs and construction of Islamic institutions. In Anantnag town, reserved land near Forest Office, was acquired by Government for General Bus Stand and later on handed over to Muslims for Idgah. Yet another plot at Ashajipora was given for another Idgah. The two Idgah's are hardly two kilometers away from each other. A third piece of land including hundreds of trees was given to Iqbal Memorial Institute run by Jamiat Islamia. Such cases are in hundreds all over the State. All 'kahcharai' land, 'shamilat' land and land belonging to State Government was entered in Revenue records as belonging to Islam. To be correct, it was called "Maqbooza Ahl-e-Islam".

Highlights of the new order had become clear from 1981-82. A number of World Islamic Conferences were held in Kashmir, one of them attended by delegates from several Islamic countries including Imam of Mecca. Spearheading the campaign for Pakistan, the Jamaat-e-Islami skilfully utilized the presence of religious leader from Islamic countries to raise their prestige and thus emerge as a potential pro-Pak force in the



Valley. In Maktabas and Darasgahs, budding Muslim boys were taught that according to Muslim law the world is divided in two camps, Darul-Islam and Darul-Harb. A country is Darul-Islam when it is ruled by Muslims. A country is Darul-Harb (abode of war) when Muslims only reside in it but are not its rulers. Fundamentalists from Iran and Pakistan mushroomed in the Valley in an organised way and started addressing prayer gatherings in mosques. In place of world brotherhood or human brotherhood, stress was laid on Islamic brotherhood (Muslim Ummah). As part of their campaign, Jamaat cadres ransacked libraries in educational institutions and ordered ban on books, which did not correspond with their brand of knowledge about man and his world. In Kashmir University, the library was pruned and more than two thousand books of knowledge series, 'Milton's Paradise Lost' and George Bernard Shaw's plays and books by many other world-renowned writers were thrown out. As part of Islamisation campaign, the Jamaat men also forcibly converted Kashmir University's Canteen Hall into a mosque. Similar things happened in the prestigious Institute of Medical Sciences near Srinagar. In the Medical Colleges and Teachers Training Colleges in the Valley where Jamaat activist teachers forced closure of classes whenever Darwin's Theory of Evolution was taught to students, on the plea that it did not conform to the Islamic tenets. The majority Muslim community, though ethnically no different from their Hindu brethren, now began to look upon the Hindu as an un-Islamic creature.

In 1980, Income-tax authorities from Delhi carried out raids on some business establishments. When the team consisting of seventy I.T. officials was about to start its work in Srinagar, officials were physically assaulted. Dr Farooq Abdullah, who was then Member of the Lok Sabha, went round and gathered a furious mob inciting them with the plea that Kashmir's honour was at stake, he asked them to attack the officers. Forty-seven officers who included some lady officers were injured. The documents were snatched from them and destroyed. Officers who were threatened to be drowned in the nearby Dal Lake, ran helter skelter to save their lives. They could not go to any hotel for food and had to return to Delhi immediately. Next day, Sheikh Abdullah made a seditious speech at Iqbal Park, warning Hindustan that if it does not behave properly, Kashmir will be compelled to reconsider the issue of accession. No wonder, India has been 'behaving properly' since then. What was the reaction of the people? Reflecting this, chairman of the Peoples League, Mohammad Farooq Rehmani wrote: "While the general public had become very happy about the income tax raids to detect hidden income,



Sheikh Abdullah felt extremely annoyed and expressed his resentment. There was no doubt that Sheikh Abdullah had become a protector of capitalists and racketeers, who made unmerited gains through dishonest means and honest practices and laws were meant only for the uninfluential poor people. Sheikh Abdullah and family considered himself above law".

During the Congress Government headed by Mir Qasim as Chief Minister, there appeared to be a tacit understanding between some Congress leaders and leaders of Jamaat-i-Islami. But with the ascendancy of Sheikh to power in 1975, Jamaat-i-Islami changed its tactics. Instead of facing the Sheikh directly, their cadres joined the National Conference ranks but continued to operate their own plans at religious and educational level. In course of time, the State administration was swarmed by Jamaat-i-Islami activists. The Central Government remained blind on every occasion. The fundamentalists in Iran had taken their country in iron grip. They began to export the Islamic fundamentalism. Iran opened its purse strings to spread its mission and filled the coffers of many including those who wanted to settle scores with India. From another side came God-sent lethal weapons, arms and ammunition that were passed to Pakistan by U.S.A. purportedly for use by the Afghan rebels operating from there. Thus, our inneterate adversary-Pakistan had everything and more at its command without having to dip into its own pockets to create a troublesome area from Kashmir down to Punjab. To keep Pakistan on the right side, some of the Arab countries flush with petro-dollars poured untold funds into Islamic Pakistan headed by Gen.Zia, the suave schemer, religious zealot and relentless tormentor of what was dubbed as the land of infidels.

Inside, a small elite of real estate agents, politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen have been controlling the economy in Kashmir and they diverted the anger of middle and lower class Kashmiri Muslims against them towards the Central Government. Thus, grave damage was done by subversive organisations. No action was taken to root them out when after the Bangladesh war they stood thoroughly demoralised. Instead Sheikh Abdullah had been brought back by way of Indira-Abdullah accord, which can also be called Beg-Parthasarthi accord (1975) and given a free hand to take Kashmir away from India. Accord madness was repeated when under Rajiv-Farooq Accord, Farooq Abdullah was brought back to power. Despite clear warnings from the Governor, internal subversion was allowed to grow unchecked. Consequently, by the end of 1989, almost all the components of power structure passed into the hands of subversives.



Rajiv Gandhi nullified the Supreme Court's judgement in the Shah Bano case in early 1986. The sordid deal between the Government and the dyed-in-the-wool Muslim communalists and bigots dealt a lethal blow to secularism. In Kashmir, it created immediate results. There was jubilation at the spectacular victory of Islam. The speech delivered by the senior Cabinet Minister of Rajiv Gandhi Government, Z.R. Ansari in the Lok Sabha, in which while defending the new Act, he castigated and ridiculed the Supreme Court of India and its judges, was reproduced in the local newspapers of Srinagar. The hawkers who sold these newspapers on roads and streets added their own fuel. To attract the purchasers, they loudly shouted: "La-deen Hindustan per Islam ka tamacha" etc. Arif Mohammad Khan, a Minister of State in the Rajiv Gandhi Government, who had supported the Supreme Court judgement and opposed the new bill, was a special target. The morale of G.M. Shah, who was ruling the State with Congress(I) support, was upbeat. On his return from Haj, Rajiv Gandhi had invited him to dinner at New Delhi. On this occasion, he had assured Shah of continued Congress support in the Assembly. He felt bold politically to yield to the communal demands of Jamaat-i-Islami one by one. Interested elements in bureaucracy and politics spread some false rumours and canards in the Kashmir Valley around third week of February, 1986 about some imaginary happenings in Jammu city, which had never actually happened. Violent processions were taken out and communal rioting was spread in full fury in Anantnag district. G.M. Shah and many Congress leaders were in the Valley. They made no attempt to stop the fury. Hysterical Muslim mobs attacked Hindus in Anantnag town and large number of villages in the district. Their houses and shops were looted and burnt. Temples were demolished, damaged and desecrated. Idols and portraits of Hindu deities inside the temples were urinated upon and then thrown into nearby brooks and Nallas. The places involved were Anantnag, Bijbehara, Danow Bogund, Akoora, Wanpoh, Look Bhawan, Chowgam etc. In Bijbehara, four ancient and most revered temples were desecrated. These were 'Vijeshwar' temple and the temple dedicated to Lord Shiva on the Harishchandra Ghat of River Vitasta. This latter temple had been beautifully built with well-laid out area around it appropriate for meditation and contemplation. This temple with its two most modern ghats is the substitute for Varanasi in Kashmir. It always used to be thronged by Sadhus and pilgrims from Nepal, Bengal, Kerala, Karanataka and other far off places of the country. In the village of Danow Bogand, unprecedented misery was inflicted on the Hindus, who were prosperous, educated and highly professional and always out to serve the



Muslim masses with love and affection both local and living in surrounding villages. But the Muslims overpowered by Islamic frenzy pounced upon their benefactors and threw them into the dust. Altogether, 32 places were affected. In these 24 temples were burnt, 22 were desecrated and looted and large number of idols were broken. The destruction and damage to houses, shops etc. was colossal. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, the PCC President, was away in Delhi. He returned after two days and completed the formality of going round the affected villages. The "kept" press treated the tragedy as trivial in the interests of 'secularism' and maintaining peace in the rest of the country. The 'Kashmiri' Samiti, Delhi organised massive relief. Its teams toured the villages "extensively and provided much needed material relief to all the families. The BJP leaders, Shri L.K. Advani and Kidar Nath Sahni visited the affected villages and met and consoled each and every victim.

This vandalism was just a rehearsal for what happened from January, 1990 onwards. As a result of serious communal riots, Congress Party withdrew support to G.M. Shah Government who resigned and Governor's rule was imposed. Hindu minority felt dazed. Unbelievable had happened. Immediately afterwards Kashmiri Hindu leaders knocked at the doors of authorities in Delhi. A high-level delegation of Kashmiri Pandit leaders met the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. He advised them not to migrate and solemnly assured the Kashmiri Pandits that their safety, honour and dignity would be ensured at all costs with all the might of India. But when the Hindus of Kashmir became refugees and lost everything, Rajiv turned his eyes from them. He donated, on behalf of A.I.I.C.C., Rs. 10 lakhs for the flood victims of Bangladesh but did not offer a single rupee as relief to the Pandits from Kashmir, who had fallen from riches to rags. He did not even express lip sympathy for them, although they had become victims of his credulity and negligence. When he was in personal and political distress from April, 1987 onwards, due to Bofors scandal, he addressed a party rally at Boat Club, New Delhi. With an eye for cheap applause from his audience, he 'warned' Pakistan and said: "ham Pakistan ki naani yaad karayangey". While Rajiv said this only as a rhetoric, Pakistan actually made Kashmiri Pandits (with whom Rajiv had maternal links) to remember their "naanis". Pakistan thus got a targeted revenge.

The tragedy of 1986 was a water-shed for the separatist movement. Then onwards, fundamentalists rode very high. Till then they had been fearing that any harassment of Hindus and even a thought of desecration of a single temple might generate anger and annoyance in the rest of the



country. But they found that not to speak of common people, even the press had felt shy of publishing even the factual brief news. It was, therefore, no wonder that to get the support of the masses they openly said that 'Mujahids' were invincible and no power could face them as they were blessed by Allah. South Kashmir had been chosen deliberately for communal violence and desecration of temples as a matter of strategy to spread the message of secession with vengeance.

It was a wonderful time for dark deeds. It was more so for the Islamic fundamentalists, who had silently set up vast networks of fanatical centres in schools, mosques and homes. Kashmiri terrorists got their cherished opportunity and seized it with both hands. Pakistan played the conduit for transfer of untold funds of petro-dollars and lethal weapons from Afghan Rebels' stocks. The inflow continued quietly and increasingly without disturbing the Indian Neros from their favourite fiddling games. Quietly too was the Pak President, Zia-ul-Haq, the ace tactician, weaving unmatched, meticulous design of diabolism. The erstwhile simple gentle youth of Kashmir were filled with fanaticism and lured to camps across the border for training in sabotage, death and destruction. The firm objective of the youth so trained, was to torture the Kashmiri Hindu, "the evil agent of India", the "infidel" out of the Valley. Then they were to turn to security forces and eventually break up India. There is no factor other than fundamentalism operating at every step and in every act. People have become fundamentalists to the extent of annihilating the entire original native community. They are exhibiting intolerance with impatience. Not to talk of the common man, it is the elitist class, which should have displayed religious maturity and restraint, that has turned fundamentalist. They execute all orders of the terrorists, besides giving them moral, economic and above all emotional support. This exploitation of religious sentiment has given a fillip to terrorism in Kashmir. Ironically, doles are accepted from the hands from whose clutches they would like to be freed.

Pakistan is fighting a war of attrition against India on Indian soil, with besotted Indian citizens (Muslim fundamentalists) as its soldiers and with funds and armaments pouring in from afar. And it is enjoying the fireworks from the ring-side seat, with foreigners invited sometimes to watch it through Pak glasses. Pakistan has thus set up with consummate skill an incredible enterprise with no investment or cost but which assures it all profits and no loss. Why in the world one might ask should it wind up this business. Or why come to the negotiating table in seriousness when it would have to give up something in exchange for nothing which



it does not already hold as booty brought to it by the tribals, the terrorists and Indian foolhardiness. Islam was and shall continue to be the mainspring of Pakistan's India policy. The main aim of Pakistan is to carry forward the process of partition of India. Pakistan believes, "Kashmir to be an unfinished agenda of partition". Pakistan has Islam as an ideology and jehad as an instrument. Jehad in its origin and practice is a purely offensive strategy. Pakistan will be more turbulent than ever before.

The power centres and their brokers at the Centre as well as at the State level had decided that these minor "irritants", as they reckoned them, could be dealt with effectively by nothing other than a liberal policy of appeasement and flow of unaccounted funds. But appeasement grows what it feeds upon and breeds contempt. This simple lesson had always passed over the heads of rulers steeped in political and electoral quagmire. The secessionists fundamentalists had thus all these years the field wide open to them to hunt as they wished. Funds were available in plenty and arms were being thrust into youth's hands. Everything was laid out for them to become heroes, liberators, defenders of faith (mujahids); And they would have at their feet to enjoy best of flesh and fisc, the aim is to establish an Islamic fundamentalist state out of Kashmir and cut it away from India. The Indian Government have set their heart on what they call the 'political process' in Kashmir. There is reported to be pressure from foreign governments and elements for this. But where are the political parties and leaders? All are hiding outside the State at different places of the country and abroad. In direct terms, therefore, that implies parleys with the terrorists and fundamentalists. Little do they realise or to like to admit in this context that the terrorist fundamentalists are the sword and proxy of Pakistan and would do nothing without their master's approval. At the same time, these terrorist brigades have tasted blood, power, fisc and flesh. They would need lot of hard stiff persuasion to be torn away from these pleasures and 'heroics' even when saner elements within them might wish otherwise.

India's "intellectuals", media wizards, "co-ordinators" and those belonging to "Initiatives" have been presenting a distorted picture of the situation. The problem is not of economic deprivation, as is given out to be, but that of proper utilisation of human and capital resources and technology, which is what has been blocked by Article 370. For nearly 45 years now the Central Government's policy on power keg of Kashmir has, for government after government remained unchanged, stuck to groove, producing



explicitly none of these Governments has been able to recognise the real measure of its negative and damaging aspects or move away from it even if only for an experiment. The policy has been two-fold

- (i) Permissive of anything that goes inside the Valley and by its imposed monarchs, and
- (ii) Closing the eyes and ears to reason and logic and responsibility. The result of all this is the utter devastation of the character and life of the once "happy Valley" with a vicious fall-out even on the State's otherwise peaceful and larger regions of Ladakh and Jammu.

India has done no harm to anybody. Indians have never objected to beliefs or modes of worship of any section of society. Not to mention the history even in our recent phase, we have given shelter to Afghan refugees, Iranians, Burmese, Africans even to Chinese. But still we are under siege by fundamentalist terrorism. Some of our intellectuals, well-meaning intellectuals, go on goodwill missions to Pakistan and also receive goodwill missions from that country. On the conclusions of these missions we are told many funny things. People of Pakistan want peace with India and we should take initiative to win the trust and confidence of Pakistan; Pakistan is getting weak internally etc. etc. We should have give and take policy with Pakistan. We should be closer to each other in the interests of our own development. When did we refuse these steps? Who takes initiative in creating problems? India agreed to Kashmir's accession on 26th October, 1947 only after the State was faced with life and death problem as a result of Pakistan-sponsored tribal invasion on 22nd October, 1947. India had not till then even agreed to a stand-still agreement with the state. We gentlemanly handed over to Pakistan all the money of Pakistan that was in our possession even while a bloody war with Pakistan was going on. We kept our people thirsty and our fields dry but provided water to Pakistan even when we were at war with each other.

As regards Pakistan's internal weakness, this does not make any difference for us. A weak Pakistan has created havoc for us for the last ten years in Punjab and Kashmir. It is not only the government of Pakistan which is harassing us. It is Islamic fundamentalism, which transcends national, international boundaries with which we are faced. It may not be a surprise if even the Government of Pakistan might not be aware of all the facets of conspiracy against us. ISI's jurisdiction is the whole sub-continent. In Punjab and Kashmir whether the terrorists kill the people or security forces or the security forces kill the terrorists, it is the flower



of India's youth which is getting liquidated. Pakistan must be, with jubilation, recalling the words of prince Saleem (who later became Mughal King, Jehangir) whom Akbar had sent to supervise the Mughal war against the Rajputs. When Prince Saleem summoned the Chief commander of his forces and complained about slow progress of war, the Chief replied that it was difficult to distinguish between the Rajputs with us and those facing us (there were many Rajputs who were siding with Akbar). Prince Saleem directed: "Slaughter them indiscriminately; On whichever side they are killed, it would be a gain to Islam". In 1971, we imposed extra taxes on ourselves and levied a special cess and slowed down our developmental activities. Finally plunged into an all-out war. This was done to help East Pakistanis to get liberated. We were told, once this happened our problems in the North East would be solved. East Pakistan got independence and Bangladesh came into existence. but what happened in the North East thereafter? Residuary Pakistan became stronger not weaker. Now she is a nuclear power. And Bangladesh turned more anti-India than before.

Islamic fundamentalism is more aggressive in our sub-continent than anywhere else. In Saudi Arabia, a mosque is reported to have been demolished to facilitate expansion of the palace of the Saudi King. When Mr Shahaduddin was told about this, he stated that it might have happened in Saudi Arabia but it cannot be permitted in India because law in India is very strict in such matters as Indian Muslims follow the Hanfi school of Islamic jurisprudence. It is not denied that there are good individual muslims and they deserve all praise. But when it comes to crunch they too find themselves helpless. In Islam individuals do not matter. It is the collective islamic will which prevails. Collectivism or Jamaat is the hallmark of Islam. We have witnessed humanitarian and chivalrous actions of many Muslims in their individual capacity. But at the crucial moment, they themselves are forced to fall in line and even have to face death. The grateful Pandits have been singing hallelujahs to them. The former Pakistan Cricket captain, Imran Khan is a very cosmopolitan man. He is modern, sophisticated and considered to be secular. If he tours India for creating goodwill, our 'goodwill' teams will rejoice. Hordes of them will join the march from Rajghat to India Gate castigating Hindus for not crawling under their feet. Indians would be advised not to rely on army but on the goodwill of so nice individuals as Imran Khan. The ground reality in Pakistan is that such individuals will always remain individuals. Imran Khan visited Johannesburg (South Africa) in September, 1992 to raise funds to build a cancer hospital in Lahore. He held one of fund-



raising banquets at the Islamic Cultural Centre in Natal, south Coast town of Umzinté, where the entry of non-Muslims and women is banned. In spite of strong protest by the fans and admirers of Imran Khan, he refused to even come out to receive the memorandum. Imran's non-Muslim admirers were assaulted. Protesters included an executive member of the local branch of A.N.C. Nothing moved Imran and he became one with his Islamic brothers.

In the Kashmir Valley, for four decades we were made to believe that there was the "Kashmiriat". If "Kashmiriat" were a part of mental and ethical being in the Valley, why did it get rubbed off with the appearance of a gun on a fellow Kashmiri's shoulder. Was not this "Kashmiriat" superficial, thinner than even a veneer in the face of Islamic fundamentalism. When the country was partitioned in 1947, the 'White Caps' were trying to convince us that the new country of Pakistan could not last long as it was not viable. But the reality dawned on us when we were driven out in Lakhs from our centuries-old ancestral abodes. The non-viable Pakistan solved its minority problem in its entirety just in three months. The partition of India was accepted by the Congress leaders under duress after they got frightened at the great Calcutta killing (where countless Hindus were massacred) as a result of Direct Action launched by the All-India Muslim League on 16th of August, 1946. The partition cannot but be said to be immoral in as much as it was the result not of the consent of the people but of fanatic blackmail. It was as bad as the murder of Duncan by Macbeth. The blood stains left on Hindus are as deep as those of Lady Macbeth and of which Lady Macbeth said that "All the perfumes of Arabia had failed to remove the stink".

In Lahore, there was a distinguished economist of world fame, Professor Brij Narain. He had decided to stay put in Pakistan and devote his life and resources for the development of Pakistan. As a result of some "Fatwa", he was brutally murdered. He had galaxy of friends and admirers among the Muslims but none dared to issue even a condolence message. Lala Bhim Sain Sachar had decided to settle in Pakistan. He had taken oath of loyalty to Pakistan in its Constituent Assembly at Karachi. In fact, he was elected Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Pakistan Constituent assembly (Legislative). But the brutal murder of prof. Brij Narain produced shivers in his body and he immediately came running to this side of the border. The politicians are happy on phrases such as "political process", "normalisation", "healing wounds" (of terrorists), "qualitative change in the situation", "peoples' disillusionment with terrorists" and what not. They only deceive themselves and the nation.



Since none of these leaders bore a bullet on his chest or lost a son, they take liberty to play with the lives of the people. The politicians, intellectuals and progressives are as ignorant of the mind and mentality of the Muslims in Kashmir as a statue could be of the tears of a widow. Those Hindus who have lived in Kashmir for the last 45 years knew exactly where the shoe pinches.

*"Mahroom-e-haqiqat hain, sahil ke tamashai,  
ham doob ke samjhe hain daryawoon ki gahrayee".*

When Ashfaq Majid Wani got killed by his own handgrenade, all the top militants and self-styled area commanders attended his funeral (30th March, 1990) in presence of police. If the Government were sincere, all of these wanted terrorists could have been caught or fired upon. The terrorists fired shots in the air and gave the burial a look of a 'State burial'. But one must confess the Administration was helpless because George Fernandes, India's Minister for Railways and Kashmir Affairs was monitoring the situation to ensure that the terrorists were not inconvenienced. The vacillating policies of the Government help the Muslim fundamentalists to destroy India under the cover to democracy. Those who shed tears for "hardships" to Kashmiris know very well that Kashmiris have accumulated so much wealth that they can easily bear a quarter century of curfew. The only exception to this affluence being the Hindus of the Valley, who have been rendered homeless. Mir Qasim and Mufti sayeed had already made them a landless class in 1971.

Pakistan has no morals and Kashmiri fanatics have none either. Rather they are unpredictable. They eulogised Sheikh Abdullah as "bub" (the revered father) and their slogan was "yi kari ti kari, bub kari, bab kari" (whatever is to be done, it will be done by Sheikh himself). Supernatural powers were attributed to him. In the famous Kashmiri "rove" performance, the womenfolk would sing:

*"Jangiyaw goli dica tas hai dar dari, tim tim gayi bala apariye".*  
(the army men fired upon him but the bullets could not touch him and fell across the mountains). The ladies bet their breasts when he was ill and also when he died. Hundreds of sheep were slaughtered daily to propitiate the God of death to save his (Sheikh's) life. They shouted "malkul mote ko wapas karo". (Send back this yama the God of death). In 1977 elections, they shouted: "La ill ha illalla: Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah" and he won election and wiped out Congress (I). They did not mind any sacrilege in this un-Islamic slogan. But now the same 'sons' seek his (sheikh's) bones and are keen to blow his grave. India's para-military forces in



battalion strength, are guarding his grave near Hazaratbal shrine in Srinagar. They brand him infidel. It is no wonder, they may dig out the bones of Ashfaq Majid for whom they are wailing this time and declare him traitor and infidel after some time and worship some other hero. When Bhutto was hanged to death, Kashmiri Muslims shouted "Pakistan murdabad": "Zia-ul-Haq" "fuq fuq" (Zia-ul-Haq stinking, stinking) and burnt establishments, schools and residential houses belonging to Jamaat-i-Islami. They even killed the hens and fowls of Jamaat men. They burnt holy books written and interpreted by maulana Moudoodi calling them "American books". Supernatural powers were attributed even to the ghost of dead Bhutto. These very people took out coffins of Zia in 1979 and shouted: "mood ha mood ha, Zia-ul-haq mood ha" (he dies, it is Zia-ul-Haq who died). They hanged a dog to death shouting "it is Zia who is hanged". They took out procession of donkeys garlanded with shoes and called it "zia-ul-Haq". But now the same people call him "Mardi Haq" "Zia-ul-Haq". (The man of truth). In Kashmir, our nation has to deal with such unpredicable people and no political process can be set afoot in this will-i-the wisp unless gun culture is eliminated.

When dealing with a treacherous enemy there can be no soft options. The terrorists being the greatest and formidable enemies of mankind and human rights, they must be treated as traitors and tried in courts martial and hanged after summary trials. It is beyond one's comprehension what Kashmiri terrorists really are. The only predictable thing about them is that they are unpredicable and dealing with them with soft wand is to commit Hara-kri and destroy the nation. The nexus between Pakistan's ISI and the terrorists in the Valleys has been established beyond a shadow of doubt. In such a situation of civil war conditions, international mafia groups rule the roots by helping the underworld traffickers of arms and drugs. The drum beaters of parochialism and fundamentalism are working overtime. The shadows of events from across the border are lengthening. Lethal weapons are continuously pouring in. Recent events have proved that coast of Western India is the main route of arms smuggling. The overall fabric shows too many loose threads, too many weak stitches. Terrorism in Kashmir is against the Kafir, (the infidel). It is a movement to set the balkanisation of our ancient country in motion so that India as State breaks. Sikh terrorists in Punjab were used as cannon fodder. Once the purpose is served they will be dealt with appropriately as Sikhs were targeted in 1947. The Indian nation should learn to live as a nation and firmly resist and decisively defeat the well-planned theocratic onslaught, which overrides all religious, sectar-



ian, regional, communal, ideological and political considerations. Any sign of weakness or lack of cool-calculated and firm response to the Pakistani threats and acts of subversion would only encourage adventurism which can have disastrous consequences. In fact, it has always happened. Indian authorities have obtained clitching proof of pakistani hand in Bombay blasts on Black Friday the 12th of march, 1993. The brain behind these blasts, Pakistan's ISI is reported to have engineered the whole subversion in collusion with Dawood Ibrahim, the Bombay underworld don based in Dubai and the Memon family of Bombay particularly Ibrahim Abdul Razak Memon alia Tiger. There should be no disagreement among our political parties about defending India's territorial integrity. Knee jerk reactions and frequent ad hoc changes in the policy give very wrong signals both in the Valley and across the border. The stupid policy of keeping security forces subservient to local secessionist administration must be reversed at once. Also, docile diplomacy must be activated.

Some political parties, feeling that they have nothing meaningful to offer, vaguely and in an irresponsible manner, talk of granting more autonomy to the State. They ignorantly, perhaps innocently also refer to pre and post 1953 position. As Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was removed from power in that year, impression is sought to be created that this was done to deprive Kashmiris of their autonomy. This is far from truth. The Sheikh was removed for his anti-national role. Sheikh had got wind through his several secret meetings with American officials that the Americans were not averse to carving out an independent State out of the areas which had acceded to India thus fulfilling his life-long ambition. He began to pick up quarrels over one trumped up charge or another with the Central leadership. He launched a tirade against the people of Jammu and maligned them in season and out of season. This bewildered Jawahar Lal Nehru and his senior colleagues like Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and others. The more they tried to reason with him and see what had irked him, the more adamant he became and slighted them in public and various Friday post-prayer meetings where he instigated the Muslim mobs against India. This was only a play to enact the final fiat -- the declaration of independence with American support. This conspiracy was thwarted by the timely action of his own disillusioned colleagues, Bakshi, Sadiq and Qasim. Dr Karan Singh who was head of State had, in his reports, warned the Centre of grave consequences for the country if no timely action was taken. Mr Bhim Singh led a vigorous student's agitation in Jammu against the State Government. Mufi Mohammad Sayeed who, on



return' from Aligarh University, joined the National Conference, would do well to go through his own speeches, which he made during that period, against Sheikh's conspiracy. The noted liberal leader, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru had described the event of Sheikh's removal from power, as the first and only good news that had come after independence. The Communists had rejoiced on this action of Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Communist Party of India (there was only one Communist Party at that time) was the main opposition group both in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and it officially congratulated the Prime Minister on this democratic action. Its leaders, A.K. Gopalan in the Lok Sabha and P. Sundarayya in the Rajya Sabha applauded the Government on this issue in the two Houses. The Communists will do well to go through their own mouth-piece, the 'New Age' to realise what they felt and did at that time. During the Governments of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, a few select provisions were introduced in the State, such as the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, Election Commission, Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, etc. This was done not to oblige the Central Government but for the benefit of the people of the State and mainly to make the state Government responsible and accountable to the wishes and aspiration of the common man. Would anyone suggest that these are restraints to the State's autonomy which need to be done away with. Communications was supposed to be the Central subject even in the sheikh's scheme of things. But he had bluntly refused to hand over the State's telephone and telegraph services to the Centre. These services were in the most primitive stage in the State and needed urgent improvement and expansion. But Sheikh was unmindful of all this. During his stewardship of of State from early 1948 to the middle of 1953, he had not cared to add even a single line to the State's telephone system. Subsequently, Central Government had to pump in crores of rupees to bring some semblance of modernity to the system and make up for the neglect. This is how the State's autonomy was encroached from 1953. As a matter of fact, after the exit of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953, autonomy of the State increased rather than diminished and this autonomy continued to be abused for personal purposes by the leaders as exemplified by the Sheikh himself earlier. All the political leaders be they of the National Conference or the National Congress have been trampling over the rights of the common people in the name of autonomy. Politics in the State was debased: fraud, favouritism, nepotism and communalism reigned supreme. Off-the-cup solutions may sound splendid in the drawing rooms and at cocktail parties but the realities and portents are far too grim to permit levity. When Sheikh Abdullah returned to power in 1975, he



appointed a high-level Committee to review all Central laws, which had been extended to the State after 1953. This Committee came to the conclusion that whatever laws had been extended to the State had benefited the people and had not in any way encroached upon the State's autonomy. Sheikh and his colleagues were satisfied and closed the matter. This review was as per the provisions of the Indira-Abdullah Accord.

In our country, lie never dies even when exposed -- for the simple reason of official patronage to it in the long years of dynastic dispensation, which has produced a crop of public sector intellectuals, sarkari historians and Marxist libbers. Some of them of hardened Communist variety, had their training under the British, when they were recruited whole-sale for the war propaganda machine after 1942 betrayal of the 'Quite India' Movement. While they stayed put at vantage points even after the dawn of independence, they were later joined by Nehruvian courtiers and hero-worshippers, who sanctified every secular-socialist myth as gospel truth. It was the magic miracle of such myth-making that Sheikh Abdullah was paraded as model of secular nationalism. These Nehruvian and Marxist secular fundamentalists of post-independence variety have been lying, lying and lying simply to fight the bogey of 'Hindu Communalism'. They embarked on old trade of suppressio veri and suggestio falsi. The CPM leader, Mr Harikishan Singh Surjeet was attacked by the Jamaat-i-Islami activists in Khanyar, Srinagar, in June, 1982 at a meeting with the party workers. He indicted not only the National Conference activists but even the Sheikh for this attack. Asked why he did not say the truth that it were Jamaat-i-Islami workers, he said he wanted to avoid giving a handle to the B.J.P.

The secessionists are for "Nizame-e-Mustafa". The Muslim youth who have taken to the gun are on a war path to throw off the shackles of 'Indian domination'. They are fighting a so-called holy war to free themselves from the secular bondage of India. And then turn the "Napaak" (impure) land of Hindus into "Pak" (Pure) land so that Pakistan or the pure land may consist of the entire sub-continent. Nationalist India must show enough intelligence to understand the strategy of Syed Shahabuddin. He had launched a systematic campaign to project a united Muslim community as the natural ally of section of fragmented and Mandalised India. If successful, this will negate the entire nation building process and reduce India to a chaotic amalgam of fractions, castes and communities. A mere relaxation of security arrangements and greater doses of autonomy will not stop this rapid integration of Kashmiri Islam with the international Islamic resurgence.



Communists did build a strong state. Nothing moved in the Soviet Union without the sanction of the State. Nothing belonged to you either. Your house, your job, your pay-slip at the end of the month, your ration card, your identity card, your wife, your children your friends, all belonged to the State. It was a powerful State with a big army, one of the biggest in the world, large steel plants and coal mines, atomic power stations and missiles and of course, nuclear devices. After nearly three quarters of a century of the kind of steady built up, the Russians should have been on the top of the world. Instead the country has vanished from the map of the world. Now it is being referred to as former Soviet Union as a dead person is referred to late so-and-so. The most powerful country in the world as the Marxists believed has just disappeared from view. The country has gone, the army has gone, the missiles are rotting in the Sun and the arsenal of nuclear bombs is getting dust.

Why did the Soviet Union disintegrate? Because there was nothing to hold it together. You destroy the bonds that bring people together and you destroy the society itself. These bonds are not material bonds nor are they usual give and take of commerce. The bonds are cultural and give and take of personal and family relationship and above all give and take of ideas that define right and wrong, good and evil. Those ideas are rooted in creed, culture and tradition without which there can be no nation and no country no matter how strong the country is. The strongest State in the world can collapse and go as the Soviet Union did. Every nation in the world has its national culture. The British do have and so do the Americans. In India, it is Hinduness or give it any name. Take away Hinduness from Indian culture and you have a big zero, a big hole at its very heart. The so-called secular culture is precisely this: a culture with a hole in the centre, the kind of culture that the Nehruites and the Marxists tried to create.

Our country has been one on the spiritual and cultural plain even though administratively or even politically we have been diverse. 'Vande Mataram' united the minds of men and women in our struggle against foreign power. How shameful it is that Nehruites made us to believe that it was communal expression. It was said so after their tryst with ambition was fulfilled after 1947. It is the oneness, territorial integrity and very survival of our ancient country which is under assault in Kashmir at the hands of secessionist terrorists.

Our security forces are discharging their duties in absolutely hostile conditions where they are not sure about their life for a single moment. The local administration is against them. Instances of the in-



volvement of the local Police and intelligence with the terrorists are not an exception. The politicians are out to demoralise them and the Pakistan I.S.I. is meticulously conducting the whole campaign against India both from inside and outside the State, from Pakistan soil and from the capital of India, Terrorism is form of combat, which is irregular, unpredictable, and without boundaries. The terrorist is always in possession of that indispensable feature of combat, initiative. Security forces never set the agenda. Terrorists decide the time, place and method by which to engage. The Indian Government by putting spokes in the functioning of security forces, is committing suicide in Kashmir. It is also committing a heinous crime of getting the jawans killed brutally by the fanatic terrorists owing allegiance to Pakistan. The murder of jawans will cost the nation dearly and it is paving the way for another spell of foreign rule in India. The undecided politicians have not been able to save a single innocent life but restrained armed forces to minimum use of force against the terrorists. The least the people of India can do is to keep under leash the "progressives", though small in number but flush with continuous flow of funds, and prevent them from making false and obnoxious propaganda against our security forces. The jawans of these forces, while standing guard to provide security and maintain peace, live from minute to minute. They do not know when and from which side bullet, grenade or rocket will hit them. And when it comes they are bound to lose their life. The guerrilla bands heavily armed with kalashnikovs, rockets and grenades are in hiding in and around Srinagar. They have turned every road and lane into a possible death trap. Jawans sacrifice themselves so that nation lives and country is saved. The jawans and officers of our armed forces and para-military forces are standing guard for Siachen in Ladakh to Kutch in Gujarat covering the States of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat. This is our border with Pakistan. The entire border is alive. Not only are we faced with direct Pakistani intrusion always at the time of their choosing but also Pakistani-sponsored fierce terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir as also international drug mafia, smugglers and Afgans mercenaries. And yet we have had Prime Ministers in India (not to mention Hind-Pak friendship-wallas), who have been taking credit for getting chummy with Pakistan leaders and pledging everlasting friendship with them while corpse after corpse of Indian jawans surface in Kashmir. They and their like have been mouthing verbiage about the need to bring terrorists to the negotiating table. What is the latters' response? Burning alive young Indian officers, murdering innocent men, women and children and planting bombs at



places like Delhi's IGI airport, Palika Bazar, Mohan Singh place etc. etc. Towards the last week of May, 1993 Mr. V.M. Tarkunde, Mr. Rajinder Sachar and some others representing some human rights groups in India, paid a five day visit to Kashmir. Mr. Sachar in his report said : "Vast masses of people in Kashmir including members of various professions, have a warm appreciation for the armed struggle by the militants". Sachar adds : "People are not apologetic for the use of guns by the militants and they do not plead for any consideration for them because to them every militant is martyr for the cause". So the armed struggle should not be interfered with. Mr. Sachar has only hate and contempt for security forces. He doesn't want interrogation of any suspects because that causes "alienation". He doesn't want guerrillas to be chased because that may damage property which will cause "alienation". He wants on-the-spot cash payment to the people as compensation for any losses because delay causes "alienation". He wants that if any member of the army or security forces commits any irregularity, while performing his duty he should immediately be punished and whole process should be broadcast over public address system in total disregard of rules and regulation governing his service. Not doing causes "alienation" Sachar is opposed to the appointment of any person from outside the state as Chief Justice of the State's High Court because that causes "alienation" and will be "counter-productive". How local man will be "productive" may be known to him alone. He wants Government not to transgress the rule of law while dealing with secessionist guerrillas Terrorists, their collaborators and those who have "warm appreciation for their armed struggle" But wants summary, arbitrary and on-the-spot public punishment for the security forces for any lapse which may have caused inconvenience to the above categories of people. Denial to Judgement.

The policy adopted by the Government of India sets its own price tag and the cost may over-run the benefit if the country lurches from right to left and left to right and nowhere in the process. It may be possible to walk on a tight rope. But one cannot walk on a rope which is snapped. Some Indian leaders and intellectuals have become prisoners of their in-built biases and have never shown the courage to call spade a spade. The negative forces that have cropped up, would not have acquired strength if the 'one-eyed' stand had not persisted. Even those who have remained passive cannot escape blame. Confusion and delay to regain India's lost administrative turf in Kashmir will simply give Pakistan and the terrorists the most precious resources they can ask for ---time. Their strategy is to wear New Delhi down to such an extent that the cost of maintaining



Kashmir will become an impossible burden; or to keep a ready-made Pakistan inside India to be used by Pakistan to create constant problems. Unfortunately in the country an impression has been allowed to spread that the Government is only waiting for a 'suitable' time and formula for surrendering to the secessionists, as the statements about granting greater autonomy' show. To whom the Government of India wants to give greater autonomy? Nasir-ul-Islam of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen has said by way of policy statement: "Our objective is to get independence for Islam. We want to be part of Islamic bloc. Our mission is to Islamise the whole universe as God has ordered us". Comical Farooq Abdullah, from his hiding behind a concrete wall of Indian Security forces, lets out a sound or scream now and then. Sometimes, he fires flares to convey his switch of loyalty and fidelity to the secessionists from behind the enemy lines. He has not abandoned his tantrums. He is luxuriously settled in U.K. He specially came from London to present himself in Srinagar on the Pakistan's Independence Day. Well-protected by Indian commando force and travelling by a bullet-proof car provided by the Government, he made all-out effort to make himself acceptable to the terrorists. (He has been from day one trying to do so). He issued a statement on his arrival that was on 14 August, 1992 that Kashmir was disputed issue and needs to be settled among all the three concerned parties, India, Pakistan and Kashmir. The timing of the statement was carefully chosen. It was made on Pakistan's Independence Day, almost coincided with the visit of Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Shahryar Khan to New Delhi for talks with his counterpart on bilateral issues which included Kashmir and was on the eve of non-aligned summit in Jakarta. That shows Farooq is not guileless when it comes to creating problems.

New Delhi must realise that its coffers are funding the separatist movement through the subsidised petrol and the telephone network including STD/International STD. Srinagar is connected to Muzaffarabad under SARC programme. While Srinagar-Jammu lines are mostly out of order, Srinagar-Muzaffarabad line is faultless. This has solved the terrorists' communication problem. Should the state continue to provide those who have declared war against it, the wherewithal for mobility and communications. Should it continue to keep on its pay roll government servants who refuse allegiance to the country. Should it continue to supply electricity to premises that are used to preach jihad against the State. These hard decisions have to be made if India's writ is to run again in the Valley. At present, in the Kashmir Valley how are government contracts given and jobs arranged? No hanky panky -- tenders, as



prescribed by the rules, are invited and so are applications for jobs. Only later it is stated by those involved in the selection process that "hon'ble militant ABC" or "Hon'ble militant XYZ" has desired that the contract or job or supply order be given to so and so person and the orders are issued accordingly. Due process of law fully observed. Something apologists for terrorists who are around in plenty in the Capital of India, can lap up with joy! During the financial year 1991-92 (ending 31st March, 1992) in the Public Works Department and Public Health Engineering Department alone 461 contracts were awarded to "Mujahideen" on the dictation of terrorists. (The figures for the financial year ending 31st March, 1993 have not yet officially become available). India's former Home Minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, talking to reporters on September 8, 1992 said that it was an open secret that militants did not only control the day to day functioning of the local administration but receive and channelise the vast chunk of development funds. Kashmir terrorists have launched a monthly journal "Mountain Valley Kashmir" since April, 1992. Its aim is to advance the cause of terrorism and subversion in Kashmir. it also provides guidance and inspiration to the guerillas how to go about. The advertisement tariff is on a very very high side. But a look at the Magazine indicates that the Jammu and Kashmir State Government has taken over the responsibility of making the Magazine financially not only viable but also profitable. A look at the June, 1992 Issue (the only one which became somehow available) indicated that the Government Departments like Forest, Tourism etc. had inserted redundant and aimless advertisements costing more than R. 1.50 lakhs. It is just a petty example of who finances insurgency in Kashmir. The Urdu newspapers published from Srinagar carry only statements and notices of terrorists but are run on Government advertisements. After congress was returned to power at the Centre in July, 1991, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V.Narsimha Rao was persuaded by his discredited partymen and political allies from the Valley to fill some 12000 vacancies in the local bureaucracy. Predictably, the secessionist organisations hijacked the recruitments and succeeded in filling up the posts with their nominees. So the Government apparatus becomes an agency of subversion and tax-payers of India end up subsidising a movement for another partition of country.

While the State and Central Governments are ever willing to shell out any amount for that notorious exercise of appeasement its singular failure on finding the required money for essentialities in Jammu region is deplorable. What we are witnessing is a deliberate attempt to impose



indignities and humiliations on the people in the Jammu region. And also generate extra stress and strain over the existing economic infrastructure to create ill-will and tension between the local people and the refugees who have been forced to take shelter there. The entrenched communal bureaucracy of the State is doing this silently but resolutely to serve the cause of separatism. Their immediate aim appears to be to force an exodus from Jammu also so that the number of nationalists is reduced in Jammu region also. Their motto : if Kashmir Valley can come under the thumb of Terrorists Jammu may not be far away. In Jammu, the Government pleades paucity of funds. Why the State Government has no money is, of course, attributable to lack of proper governance, in that the State has failed to realise the due electric tariff or any other dues from the Valley. No attempt, howsoever, has been made to effect recoveries for any supplies provide or any services rendered. Recoveries are being made from Jammu region only. On the other hand, supplies and services are increased more and more in the Kashmir Valley.

There is an urgent need to change the mindscap of India's political leaders. Their present attitude is soft, selfish and permissive. We get up every morning, morning after morning and read in the papers that our hard-nosed rulers are keen to have what they call "political process". What is their political process? It means enabling the drunkards to drink and gamblers to gamble. But their political parties have been left in a state of atrophy, their leaders living in retreat while their counterparts from the Valley are living on doles like rest of refugees. It appears relevant to quote the noted journalist, Khushwant Singh who wrote in the Hindustan Times of October 30, 1992 "We have poured in crores of rupees into the Valley, most of it was creamed off by the educated upper class that ruled Kashmir on our behalf. We could never trust them to have free and fair elections and made sure that people we approved of were elected. We have come to such a pass that if there was an honest election today to a man Kashmiri Muslims would cast their vote against continuing association with India. We are not up against handful of dissidents but insurrection against our presence in the Valley. Nevertheless, we have no option but to hang on to the Valley because if we left we would be jeopardising the future of millions of Indian Muslim brotheren". Mr Khushwant Singh has not cared or dared to say who are "we". This is deliberate. Because he and like of him know fully well but are not prepared to confess that "we" are the same people who kept the people of Kashmir outside Indian Constitution. What was perceived as a "temporary and provisional" arrangement to facilitate the integration of the State, in practice was made an instrument



for undermining of India's sovereignty and abdication of responsibilities. A long-term solution requires a fundamental re-orientation of approach and recognition of three essential realities. First that over-doses of autonomy and the perpetuation of Article 370 argue against the full integration of the State into India. Secondly, a 'soft' State compromises security and encourages subversion. Finally that the transformation of Kashmiri Islam nullifies the possibility of permanent Muslim rapprochement with the Indian Republic. To offset the damage some go as far as to suggest that a programme for the demographic Indianisation of the State is inescapable. In Kashmir, Islam has been systematically supplanted by a rigid and doctrinaire faith whose political goal is an Islamic State. It is the ideological regime that has provided the inspiration and motivation for the organised expulsion of the Hindu minority from the Valley and the ruthless persecution of those Kashmiri Muslims who do not fall in. As things stand today there is no common ground or points of convergence between the commitment to a pluralistic, liberal State -- whether organised along federal or confederal lines -- and the growing support for an Islamic republic built along the ideological premises of the Jammt-i-Islami.

It should never be lost sight of that terrorists have links with international gangs, have access to sophisticated weaponry like grenade launchers, disposable mortars, high quality snipe rifles and plastic explosives. The threat from high quality explosives is particularly serious. Even chemical and biological devices are accessible to terrorists, as there is no stringent cheque to prevent this. Indian police has only limited knowledge of such devices. India's misfortune is that any assessment, which goes against the grain of conventional wisdom is brushed under the carpet. Faced with the collapse of brave experiment in national integration, the supine Indian intelligentsia and political classes appear determined to bury awkward dissent in a conspiracy of embarrassed silence. Unable and unwilling to accept reality, the Indian political establishment has been paralysed into dejection and defeatism. Confusion is bound to be caused when terrorists, who have their pistols on the throats of our jawans, are serenaded by a troupe of Members of Parliament no-less-with pleading for "talks". It is a different matter that the same Members of Parliament are reported to have felt like Five Star prisoners in Srinagar. But that does not open any-one's eyes. Why then is every one chiming in with the song of 'political process' while nobody makes even a passing reference to the deaths that the security forces have been sustaining. From four corners of the country they are sent to Kashmir, there to lay down



their lives to ensure that Kashmir is not chopped off from India. From four corners of the country Members of Parliament are picked up, flown in luxury to Srinagar, feted under the security of the same jawans, but what do they do? Plead with their killers to come and negotiate how much and how quickly should Kashmir be chopped off from the country. There is no softer term for this attitude than outrageous betrayal of martyrs. One need not talk of lakhs of Kashmiri Hindus nor of the numberless Kashmiri Muslims, who are innocent and have also been suffering. For it is natural for Kashmiris to suffer when their house have been set on fire by the terrorists and guns have been held to their heads. It is their Kashmir. The State belongs to each one of them. In the long history of man's greed it is not unheard of that the inhabitants of a city or State should have to suffer external aggression. But what of the Jawans who are only DISCHARGING THEIR DUTY in Kashmir and dying with a smile on their face. Does the Government of India not owe it at least to these dead and dying soldiers and patriots not to obfuscate issues once again but gives a clear lead to the jawan in field. By what cannon of justice is it permitted to talk of the jawan doing his duty and terrorist subverting a legally-constituted Government in the same breath? It is an obscenity of the worst order that an Indian soldier should have to die on a street in Kashmir with "Jai Hind" on his lips and "political process" ringing in his ears. History will never forgive an administration that perpetuates such an atrocity on its own soldiers. The time has now come for the Centre to clear its perceptions and guard against chickening out at this crucial juncture. India has either to retain Kashmir or see the beginning of disintegration.

*"Gardish - e - Ayyam tera Shukriyya,  
Ham ne har pahloo se dunia dekh li."*



## Chapter - 4

### Prelude to Proxy War

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing".

India has always endeavoured in the past 45 years to maintain friendly and amicable relations with Pakistan. It left no stone unturned to placate the unplacable Pakistan. India's aim has been to offer full co-operation to Pakistan in every field and see her prospering. According to Treaty of partition in 1947, India had to receive three hundred crores of rupees from Pakistan against fifty-five crores, which came to the share of Pakistan, as division of cash balances of undivided India. Mahatma Gandhi, at the behest of Lord Mountbatten, persuaded the Government of India to write off the share of Rs. 300 crores and pay up Pakistan's share of Rs. 55 crores. Gandhiji undertook fast unto death for this purpose. When the Government of India accepted the demand, Gandhiji ended the fast. This action took place at a time when lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs were being slaughtered in Pakistan and Indian army was fighting a bloody war with Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. The action cost Gandhiji his own life. The Government of India established communal peace within one month. The immigration of Muslims from India to Pakistan completely ceased. Also Government permitted two million Muslims to return to India and re-occupy their lands and property. On the other hand, no Hindu or Sikh was allowed to remain in West Pakistan.

West Punjab (Pakistan) was widely irrigated. Out of 25 canals in the united Punjab, 23 were in West Punjab (Pakistan) and only 2 in East Punjab (India). East Punjab was almost dry and barren. Millions of destitute Hindu and Sikh refugees who had taken shelter here had to be provided food, clothing and shelter. Even then, peace-loving India sacrificed her own vital interests and supplied water to Pakistan from its Madhopur and Hussainwala headworks. When Pakistan was at war with India, in the face of loud and long protests from the people, India paid the annual instalment of Rs. 8 crores to Pakistan. A week after the cease-fire in 1965, India let out water into Pakistani canals in the teeth of opposition from her own Punjab State which included Haryana also at that time.



During the cease-fire period, Pakistani Sabre-jets made frequent attempts to destroy the Suttlej barrage at Sulemanki and the Suttlej bridge to cut off our supply line. In spite of this, canal water continued to be supplied to Pakistan. The Indus Water Treaty itself had been accepted by India after sacrificing her own interests only to maintain brotherly relations with Pakistan. Since 1949, India has been offering to Pakistan a "No-War Pact" but Pakistan has treated it with utmost contempt.

Pakistan's hatred against India knows no bounds. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan purpled with passion, stamping and fuming, shook his fist in the air pointing it towards India, saying that the fist was their national emblem and with it they would deal with India. Another Government of Pakistan declared that every Pakistani would become Halaku and Chingez Khan for India. Still another Government of Pakistan threatened India to drown its soil in a sea of blood. Ayub and Bhutto proclaimed a thousand years' war against India. In the United Nations Security Council, Bhutto called the Indian delegation led by the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh "Indian dogs". One has only to read Aub Khan's book to realise how implacable Pakistanis and their Governments have been in their hostility towards India. They are prepared to go to any length to encompass its ruin. Kashmir merely presents a pretext for the animus of the rulers of that country towards India. And the rulers take the stand after finding the pulse of the people. Pakistan is "incorrigible", Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan has said that "even if India were to offer not one but half a dozen Kashmirs, India would find that peace would not be established with Pakistan".

Having succeeded in seizing one-third strategic area of Jammu and Kashmir by war, Pakistan bent all her energy and resources to grab the remaining portion of State by repeated wars and conquer India, if possible. They draw inspiration from the exploits of the Muslim invaders in the past. If Mahmud Ghazni could plunder India seventeen times, if Shahabuddin Ghori could lay the foundation of the Islamic State here by invading it ten times, if Baber could establish Mughal Empire in India on his fifth attempt and if Ahmed Shah Abdali could over-run this country eight times, Pakistan could also realise its aim by invading this country again and again. To rally their ranks, they have a slogan :- "Hans ke liya hai Pakistan, Larh Kar lenge Hindustan". The jihad against India has been going on from day one. A few statements out of numerous are given below :-



"Pakistan is under no obligation, international or otherwise, that prevents her from sending her troops to Kashmir."

(Sir Mohammed Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign minister in Karachi on September 8, 1948.)

Speaking to a cheering mammoth crowd outside his house, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan declared: "From today onwards, our symbol is this, and he held his clenched fist out of the window".

(Report in Dawan, Karachi, July 28, 1951)

If the U.N. proves to be a band of thieves, we will have nothing to do with it. We will prove that we can liberate Kashmir with the strength of our arms".

(Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, Chief Minister, West Punjab reported in Zamindar, Lahore, January 17 1952).

"Division is the essence of Indian polity. The fierce noise of linguistic riots in Bombay and elsewhere is heard from afar. Mr. Nehru should not equate the authority of his person with any fundamental cohesion in his country. In the absence of his cementing figure, these divisions are bound to enlarge. We are the deadliest enemy India can possibly have and it would be foolish for us not to take advantage of the foreseeable deluge that will ensue after him. In the meantime, besides preparation for the Kashmir front, we shall do our worst, and God-willing, we shall confront them on all battle-fields of diplomacy and cold war, and prove the bitterness of sting".

(Pakistan Times, Lahore, November 25, 1955).

"The question of Kashmir would never be solved until every man in the country was militarily trained and armed with modern weapons. I am sure Kashmir would never join Pakistan without force."

(Khan Jalal-ud-Din Khan, Pakistan Times, Lahore February 13, 1956).

"Pakistan will not hesitate to march on Delhi and teach a lesson to the Indians."

(A.M. Quraishi, Member of Legislative Assembly of West Pakistan, reported in Mussalman, Karachi, March, 8 1956).



"The year of 1957, after a hundred year, is a year of new hopes. This is a year to spread Muslim rule all over India. New blood should run into our veins to see the year 1957 approaching nearer. Seventy million Pakistani Muslims and fifty million Indian Muslims should have new hopes that after one hundred years they are going to get authority over the whole of India".

(Allama Mashriqui, reported in Waqt, Lahore November 24, 1956).

"We are prepared to sign defence pacts, both offensive and defensive, with any country which is prepared to help us against our one enemy - India".

(Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, President Muslim League, in Lahore on November 26, 1956)

"We want them (members of the Baghdad Pact) for our defence purposes.....Our first duty is to strengthen our defence particularly against India no matter what others might say".

(Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, reported in Pakistan Times, Lahore, December 8, 1956)

"O Hindu! What have you to do with a thing like Government?"  
"A Government is not something like cow's urine or cow dung : which you may drink or make cakes of."

(Lines in Urdu printed in Waqt, Lahore, on December 27, 1956, at the head of an announcement of a public meeting to be held on January 1, 1957, to welcome 1957 as the year of triumph over India.)

"I want to make it clear that Pakistan recognises no international obligations with regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir except those it has voluntarily accepted together with the Government of India in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949".

(Pakistan's Foreign Minister in the Security Council on January 16, 1957)

"Puny nations like Egypt and India are defying U.N."

(Pak Prime Minister, H.S. Suhrawardhy during a tour of United States reported in Pakistan Times, Lahore, July 16, 1957)



"We shall never develop friendship with India - our sworn enemy."

(Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President, Pakistan Muslim League at a public meeting on June 6, 1958).

"Kashmir is vital for Pakistan, not only politically but militarily as well. Kashmir is a matter of life and death."

(President Ayub Khan in December, 1959).

"You might say, 'Why cannot you give up Kashmir?' Well, we cannot give up that dispute not because we are bloody-minded but for example, for the reason that Kashmir is connected with our physical security. Thirty-two million acres in Pakistan are irrigated from rivers that start in Kashmir."

(President Ayub Khan at the national Press Club, Washington on July 13 and reported in the Pakistan Times of July 14, 1961).

"Kashmir is important to us for our physical as well as economic security."

(President Ayub Khan at Karachi on July as reported in the Pakistan Times of July 20, 1961.)

"Pakistanis being the best fighting force can meet any challenge thrown by India."

(Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, President, Jammu & Kashmir Muslim conference reported in Dawn, Karachi, December 22, 1962).

"In the event of war, Pakistan would not be alone. Pakistan would be helped by the most powerful nation in Asia. War between India and Pakistan involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest State in Asia".

(Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, speaking in the Pakistan National Assembly on July, 17, 1963.)

"The alternative solution to Kashmir issue is war"

(President Ayub Khan in an interview with a BBC Correspondent reported by Pakistan Times, Lahore, March, 5, 1964).



"Kashmir can never be secured without jihad."

(From editorial of *Nai Roshni*, Karachi, December 21, 1964)

"There is a great fund of goodwill for Kashmiris in North African and Middle-Eastern countries. Almost everywhere, the question being asked is when Pakistanis or Kashmiris will take up arms for the Valley's liberation. In fact the Defence Minister of one Muslim country has offered himself to participate in jihad if Kashmiris and Pakistanis launched it."

(Maulvi Farid Ahmed, reported in *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, January 1, 1965.)

"Negotiations and protests cannot solve the issue of Kashmir. It wants blood now"

(From the editorial, *Nai Roshni*, Karachi, January 17, 1965.)

"It would be for the good of India if she voluntarily transfers the areas to Pakistan, otherwise Pakistan would have to use force for acquisition of the area and that would be a prelude to India's destruction".

(*Nai Roshni*, Karachi, February 24, 1965).

"China may conquer the whole of India. Even then India would not fight China. India is a preacher of non-violence. She is not fool to fight with a bit of power like China ... Poor India never has the guts to fight even Pakistan, let alone China, ' which is a mighty power'".

(Mashriq, Lahore, March 5, 1965.)

"The time is not far off when the six-foot-six-inch Sheikh Abdullah will catch the five-foot-two-inch Lal Bahadur Shastri by the neck and take back Kashmir".

(Mashriq, Lahore, March 5, 1965).

"We are not afraid of war and we will not hesitate to go to war when time comes."

(Dawn, Karachi, March 11, 1965)

"We are sure, President Ayub will teach Indians a lesson which the Indian rulers would never forget."

(Jang, Karachi, March 18, 1965).



"If Pakistan makes up her mind to punish instead of protest, better sense will dawn on Delhi)."

(Dawn, Karachi, March 19, 1965)

"We must take appropriate action, which means a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye. If defence is to be aggressive, then our Defence Forces must be ordered to retaliate".

(Dawn, Karachi, March 22, 1965)

"Though America has become a world power, she has not been able to realise that Bharat whom she has been preparing to counter China, would not dare fight even Nepal. All the military equipment America is dumping in Bharat will one day fall into the hands of other countries."

(Mashtiq, Lahore, 1965).

"These are the characteristics of the fighters for Islam. They attain and see paradise under the shadow of the sword. Therefore, they are prepared to roast the Indian brinjals on any front."

(Nai Roshni, Karachi, May 2, 1965).

"The Rann of Kutch, prescription should be applied to the Kashmir front".

(Nawa-e-Waqt, Lahore, May 9, 1965).

"Thousands of Razakars are ready to break the Ceasefire Line and march into Occupied Kashmir to the rescue of their brothers."

(Rahmatullah, State Councillor, reported by Pakistan Times, Lahore, May 17, 1965)

"When the fight in the Rann of Kutch was on, India's only aircraft carrier, Vikram and several tankers had to run away in the Arabian Sea at the sight of the single submarine of Pakistan."

(Jang, Karachi May 3, 1965).

"The Pakistan Government should renounce her obligations in regard to cease-fire line and give free hand to Kashmiris in reorganising themselves for launching a full-fledge jihad."

(Abdul Qayyum Khan reported in Dawn, Karachi, May 25, 1965).



"We shall go full out, and smaller though we are than India we shall hurt India beyond repair"

(President Ayub Khan, Dawn, Karachi, June 20, 1965.)

"In the event of war with India, Pakistani troops would march up to Delhi, would occupy the Red Fort and hoist the Pakistan flag on it".

(Pakistan Times, Lahore, July 11, 1965, reporting the proceedings of the National Assembly).

"India is to Asia today what South Africa is to rest of Africa. What Israel is to the Middle East".

(Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan Foreign Minister, Pakistan Times, Lahore, July 14, 1965.)

"As a matter of fact, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was Pakistani territory which India has usurped."

(Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan Foreign Minister, reported in Dawn on August 20, 1965).

It is erroneous to think that Pakistan's dispute with India is derived from Kashmir. The Pakistani conflict is much wider than the Kashmir problem. If the conflict had not arisen over Kashmir, it would have sprung over any other area. If Kashmir is handed over to Pakistan on a platter, it will claim Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bombay etc. Allama Mashriqui, the leader of the Khaskar Party had publicly said that Pakistan was only to be springboard from which the whole of India was to be an eventually conquered. His thesis was that Hindu India was inherently a hopelessly divided entity which could never withstand a determined assault from outside. This thesis was adopted by Ayub Khan, Z.A. Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. The Kashmir dispute is merely one of the manifestations of a deep-rooted disease. The disease, is Pakistan's insensate and all pervasive hatred of India.

Inter-Services Intelligence (I.S.I.) of Pakistan is the most powerful Intelligence agency in Asia. It has taken up the task of breaking up India. Secession of Kashmir from India is the key to the plan being implemented to achieve the aim. Before launching armed insurgency, two pre-requisites were fulfilled. One was indoctrination on the basis of Islamic fundamentalism. Its essential adjunct was the simultaneous



launching of rabid anti-India and anti-Hindu propoganda. The second pre-requisite was the smuggling of arms into Kashmir Valley. In both the cases, what was imporant was a carefully drawn plan under a thick cover of secrecy. Youngmen infused with radical ideas were to be recruited by their local mentors. Indoctrination of the masses along Islamic fundamentalism was a mission which the Jamaat-i-Islami had already taken upon itself. They' had spread their tentacles through their schools (darsghah) in every village, mohalla and town. Over the years, the Jamaat-i-Islami's hysterical fundamentalist campaign of religious fanaticism and bigotry, of hatred and intolerance, of suppression on the voice of dissent, liberalism and of reason and elightenment had been spreading in Kashmir like forest fires. Also no one came forward to douse and put out these fires. These were allowed to spread from city to village, from one village to another, from one field to another, from one house to another. Authorities turned a blind eye to the free flow of an unending stream of inflammatory literature pouring in from Iran, to the free flow of colossal funds from some Middle-Eastern countries to identifiable source centres lying at the heart of the fundamentalist movement inside Kashmir. In the Jamaat-i-Islami schools, young boys with impressionable minds were raised on the staple diet of religious fanaticism and bigotry. In these schools deliberate efforts were made by the hysterical fundamentalists to stamp out from minds, the last lingering traces of the culture of tolerance of their inherent Kashmiri heritage. It was in the schools that the dark medieval mind of the present-day fanatics came to be shaped. The Jamaat-i-Islami, long before the terrorists violent outburst, found to its glee that its campaigns were proceeding smoothly unchallenged as these were, both by administration and mainstream political leadership. These are proven facts that the Jamaat received overt and covert support, tacit and direct encouragement in spreading the network of its schools, in sending incendiary fundamentalist literature to homes in each town, in each village and in each distinct. The two battallions of Kashmir Armed Police wer raised with the Jamaat - trained youths forming their core, that the Jamaat cadre found its way into the vital limbs of the administration especially the Department of Education, Co-operation, Agriculture, Food and Civil Supplies which have wide public dealings in the rural areas.

Auqaf (endowment), nazool (State land), Khalsa Sarkar (aligned to State) and Kahcharai (grass-lands) wherever available in the valley were occupied and Jamaat-i-Islami Schools were built on them. Private lands wherever required, were also acquired for the purpose. Artisan like masons, carpenters, and skilled and unskilled labourers, who were deployed in the task of building the mosques were foremost to fall in line



with their indoctrinarian propoganda. They considered it their religious, moral and social obligation to render either free service in the constructional enterprises or charge only nominal wages for their labour. The mosque became the platform of a two-pronged attack; indoctrination of fundamentalism and spreading of anti-India and hate Hindu frenzy. The elite and the upper class Kashmiri Muslims in concert with the section of bureaucrats, which controlled the nerve centre of the entire ruling outfit, and cadres of ruling political parties (N.C.) all converged on overt and covert support to the insurgency movement and related conspiratorial activities. The upper class of Kashmiri Muslim society of which the bureaucrats of clear pro-Pak propensities formed the core, concentrated on the mosque and religious practices affiliated to it. Top-ranking Muslim officials misused official position and influence to make the mosque the centre of all propoganda machinery. Hundreds of new mosques came up in the length and breadth of the Valley. Special sanctions were made to provide roads, drinking water, electricity and sanitation facilities to the mosques. Forest officials provided timber on nominal rates to be used in the construction of mosques and also firewood to meet the winter requirements of the hammams (baths) in the mosques. Funds poured in from Saudi Arabia, Iran and U.S.A. Rich Muslims in the Valley made substantial monetary contributions to win a certificate of religiousity. The elite and the upper crest made stupendous show of Godliness and religion abiding behaviour so as to dilute the anti-elitist feelings, which had made inroads into the middle class of Kashmiri Muslim society. In these activities, Jamaat-i-Islami emerged a hero trying to convince the masses that its mission had divine sanction. 'ALLAH WALAI', another Muslim organisation with its headquarters in U.P. also directly helped in whipping up religious frenzy. They held huge congregations in Kashmir where they openly spoke to Muslims exhorting them to strive hard for the Islamic Rule and Islamic Law. Many young Muslims were taken to U.P. for training. In August-September, 1988, a week-long Conference-cum-camp in which delegates from many States of India and a few Arabs participated was held at Idgah, Srinagar. Many high-ranking State Government officials attended the said Conference. In fact, in almost all the mosques of Srinagar City and towns like Sopore and Baramulla, the Chief Imams were not Kashmiri Muslims but youngmen from U.P.

In August, 1984, an Amir from Kuwait had remarked at a meeting held with the local people at Chshma Shahi tourist resort, Srinagar that secular politics of India is quite conducive for spreading of Islam and asserting Islamic Laws. This is the role of the now defunct B.B.C.I. in



providing funds to Kashmiri Muslims was not visible. But it was there. The drug traffic in the region mostly through Afghanistan and Pakistan resulted in the promotion of charas cultivation in the Valley. Everybody including government officials appeared benefitting from it. The drug money and foreign funds raised a new economic power to compete with the Central aid. In 1980, a mass convention of Jamaat-i-Islami was held in Idgah, Srinagar. On 9th march, 1981, there was rioting and vandalism in Anantnag. Wine shops mostly owned by Hindus were attacked, looted and smashed by unruly mobs. In 1981, an Iraqi goodwill delegation led by Iraqi Minister for Religious affairs, Noorie Faizal Abshahni visited Srinagar. The delegation handed over lot of money as gifts to Islamic institutions. As a result, College of Oriental Studies, Srinagar, ran by Islamic Trust, was renamed "Saddam Hussain College". Lot of money was also handed over to many newspaper owners. Some new Weeklies got started. There was spate of Urdu dailies in the market. Then Iran joined the fray. The Cultural Attache of the Embassy of Iran in India came to Srinagar. He gave huge donations to media and many other organisations. Then mainland Iran sent lot of money. With the rise of fundamentalism in the Valley, the propagators began to talk more and more of Nizam-i-Mustafa. People thought that wearing of baggy 'Shalwars' and flowing 'Kameez', the national dress of Pakistan was a big step towards realisation of 'Nizam-e-Mustafa' in Kashmir. Ruling politicians and pscophants, ministers and cadremen made an impressive show of their 'Khan' dress imported from Pakistan. Every Government offices became something like a mosque, particularly on Fridays. Puritanic slogans like 'Namaz ko quaim rakho' and 'aapko namaz ke liye fursat nahin-taajub hai' written in chalk and on tin plates profused the walls, doors, window-panes and electricity poles of the city and the towns. College and University students began wrapping a spotted kerchief round their necks after the fashion of the Arabs. The Shia section toed the Khomeni line. show and exhibition of religious fervour was done to such an extent that even while travelling on roads, they stop the car, come out, spread the piece of cloth on the road, offer prayers there and then. This was used more as a show rather than religiousness. On 13th October, 1983, a Cricket Match was held between India and West Indies in Srinagar. Srinagar was selected to help boost Kashmir's economy. A new stadium was built costing about Rs 75 lakhs. The match was disturbed, Indian players were hooted and stoned and West Indies was made to win. Immediately after the match there were large number of bomb blasts in the city. Some people were arrested and later on released. It was never revealed who the people were. Farooq Abdullah was the Chief Minister.



State administrative machinery controlled by pro-Pak cadres dovetailed the entire administrative function to promoting the interests of the Muslims even if it meant gross violation of rules and procedures. A Muslim and his interests were supreme and above all rules. Tenor of hate India and hate Hindu propaganda could be gauged from the subject material published in local papers onwards of 1984. The underground insurgency movement was receiving support from all quarters. Indoctrination worked.

The second pre-requisite of actual launching of armed insurgency, viz, smuggling of arms and ammunition into the Valley from Pak-occupied areas was an operation that asked for foolproof secrecy, trust and planning. Infiltration into the ranks of State Police and Intelligence outfit was pivotal to the big adventure. Once responsible cadres in these two wings promised their overt and covert support, half the game had been won. Prospective volunteers who would run the errand got into contact with their guides on the borders, particularly in Kupwara and Uri sectors. Harsh topography of the mountain passes was taken into account. One safe device was to seduce local persons on the border in agreeing to dump the smuggled stock of arms and ammunition. Pretending haystacks and brick kilns etc. were made use of. It will be found that a large number of brick kilns sprang up in villages along border line during several years preceding the armed rebellion in 1989. Most of the entrepreneurs of this industry received fairly large amounts of industrial loans from the Government. Transportation of the arms from the sites of storage on the borders to the City of Srinagar and other town was mostly done by trucks of J.&K. State Road Transport Corporation or by those of Police Department. RTC trucks unloading ration in distant villages on the border line returned with arms-loads and disgorged it in the city. Sopore became a vital link in the process of transportation of smuggled arms and ammunition. Police trucks were not subject to check at any post, particularly when these were escorted by senior police officers. Once insurgents were assured of police abetment, everything became smooth for them.

Involvement of increasing number of Muslim youth in the impending insurgency needed cohesion of action. They had to be educated and trained in logistics of mass insurgency. The mass base had to be created and everything had to be done in secrecy. The conspirators devised the intelligent method of forming Cricket Clubs throughout the length and breadth of the Valley. Hundreds and thousand of Cricket Clubs were established in each Mohalla, each village and each town. These enrolled youth in large numbers and one would find himself amused on beholding



a staunch Jamaati with beard, shalwar and kurta and sometimes a rosary in hands, playing or directing a so-called friendly cricket match. These Clubs served the purpose of fostering close liaison among the youth of the Valley and were preparing them for a higher adventure. In those years (1984-89), if one walked down the streets of downtown Srinagar, one found that youth amused themselves with cricketing exercise in narrow lanes sometimes to the chagrin of passer-by whom the plastic ball would hit by chance. Nobody took cognizance of imperatives behind this apparently child-like activity. On being informed that 'cricket club culture' had made deep impact on Kashmiri youth and that its ulterior purpose was being well-served, President Zia of Pakistan announced in cavalier fashion his 'interest' in watching the Indo-Pak Cricket match in Jaipur, and made a gallant visit. It was a one-day match. New Delhi thought it a feather in its cap and befooled itself and the public by telling them that the General had now embarked on a policy of fraternisation with its big brother. In fact, the visit gave a tremendous boost and encouragement to the 'Cricket Club culture' in Kashmir where schemes and plans for logistics were drawn to make insurgency a full success. To this day nobody understood the motive behind Zia's sudden visit to Jaipur.

As a matter of fact, game cricket has been playing havoc with India and Hindu minority in Kashmir. During India-Pak cricket matches which have been very frequent in the four decades, Hindus have always been with hands up praying to God for safety. If Indian team won the match, Muslims in Kashmir would become ferocious, observe hartal, Government employees would abstain from their offices and there would be widespread demonstrations throughout the Valley. If Pakistan won the match, there would be unprecedented jubilation. People would go amuck dancing and daggling in the streets and roads. In both the situations Hindus had to remain indoors. They had to be doubly cautious lest some word might drop from their mouth this way or that way. It was due to exemplary self-restraint on the part of Hindus that the situation was never allowed to go out of hand. But this grim situation created by crickets politics of Gen. Zia was never understood by our Cricket bosses and the Government. The Indian Cricket's repeated forays in Sharjah were taken full advantage of by the Kashmir secessionists. They are so sure of final outcome at Sharjah that victory celebrations begin well in advance. Indian cricketers forays into Sharjah are for lure of money, big money, bigger than that is available anywhere else in the cricket for the players, as well as for India's Cricket Board. Ever since the Sharjah Cricket matches were launched in 1981 by the local Sheikh Bakhtiar under management of Asif



Iqbal (the former Pakistan Captain who migrated from India in 1960) they have been purely a commercial venture. Only the kind of show that will satisfy the paying public, being almost entirely composed of Pakistani expatriates is interested only in the spectacle of India's defeat and humiliation. At the end of the match, the partisan crowds go home cheering while people in Pakistan, and India's mini Pakistans burst crackers to celebrate the manipulated Pak victory. India's cricket officials don't seem to mind since they are paid handsomely enough. So whenever a Sharjah Tournament comes along, our cricket team is led there like ancient Roman prisoners being thrown to hungry lions to provide amusement to crowds- except that here everybody-the lion, the crowds as well as the prisoners are happy and all the sorrow is left for the Indian cricket fans and (now there are no Hindus in Kashmir). Gen. Zia-ul-Haq played the cricket card as a diplomatic smoke-screen to implement his plans in Kashmir is another much more tragic story. Apparently, the story of Prithvi Raj and Mohammed Ghori is being replayed. Fearing India may dilly-dally next winter in going to Sharjah, Mr Asif Iqbal came to India as match referee for the India-Zimbabwe Test. He canvassed in his own way and told newsmen in New Delhi on 18th March, 1993 that he had every hope that India will participate in the Sharjah Test in November, 1993. It appeared that his aim in coming to India was to persuade the Board of Control for Cricket to forget the past humiliation and send the team to Sharjah. Presenting an apology for the past events, he said the last test was "a low key affair" held for the sake of continuity". After the terrible Black Friday event in Bombay on March 12, 1993 Pakistan again used cricket as one of the means to soften India. Its Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif proposed a cricket match between the foreign correspondents based in Delhi and the Lahore Gymkhana Team. The Delhi team included mainly Brits and Indians, the only foreign correspondents who play the game. In fact, the Indian Captain was so anxious to form an Eleven, despite the extremely inappropriate timing of the visit, that he even approached the British and Australian High Commissions to inquire if they could persuade some cricket playing diplomats to join the Team. Though the diplomats declined, the final Team of 16 which flew to Pakistan in the first week of April, 1993 included at least two non-journalists. From Lahore the Team was flown in a special plane to Islamabad. There was a convoy of 7 Mercedes cars to transport the players to the Cricket Club. The Cricketers and their families drank (despite the official prohibition policy) and dined while staying at the Five Star Pearl Continental Hotel. The Pakistanis even diplomatically allowed the match to



end in a draw and Sharif took time off from domestic crisis to cheer the players. Each cricketer was presented a carpet, outdoing Zia-ul-Haq's standard gift of any lamp shades and pen-holders. Dazzled by Pakistani hospitality, it is little wonder that a section of the Indian Press, including a leading news magazine bewailed the Indian Government's "hasty" conclusion of linking the blame for the Bombay bomb blasts on the I.S.I. of Pakistan.

The pioneers of insurgency made its secrecy foolproof. They never conveyed messages either in writing or on telephone. Only dependable and trusted messengers were pressed into service. It will be found that onwards of 1984, the number of motor cycles, scooters and maruti cars sold in Srinagar and the towns of Kashmir rose sharply. Most of the two wheelers were plying in the rural areas. Infiltration into Police and Intelligence cadres made it possible for the militants to identify I.B. personnel who were victims of their initial strike. Those who try to convince themselves that insurgency in Kashmir has economic reasons will better reevaluate their perception when more and more facts about Kashmir conspiracy come to light. Anybody who thinks or analyses Kashmir crisis in isolation of regional or global dimensions of current politics is mistaken. Nor shall the crisis come to an end unless the regional scenario changes altogether. In Kashmir, India has to reckon with the greatest State-sponsored terroirms in the world. One of the numerous guidelines of this 'jihad' is an offensive, which will destroy the will of the enemy, damage his political capacity and expose him to the world as an oppressor. This was Gen. Zia's directive to I.S.I. The cause of Islamic fundamentalism was taken over by the same elements who were responsible for the partition of India and establishment of a separate homeland on the basis of two-nation theory. Imams and Maulvis from U.P. sprang up in the Valley. Most of them were given State Subject Certificates and were thus made permanent residents of the State. They were associated with such organisation "Tablig-ul-Islam", "Ummat-i-Islamia" etc. Simultaneously, a well-planned offensive was launched through the State's broadcasting system named 'Radio Kashmir' and T.V. Centre (Doordarshan) against India under the guise of catering to the local population. Muslims picked up as Kashmiri authors were invariably given Central awards. Many of these recipients of awards played the double trick. When the Government of India announced an award for a particular author, he would go round fundamentalist centres declaring that he was not going to accept the award announced by these "dhotiwalas". He would swear that he had not made his book available to them. They must



have obtained a copy on their own. The concerned author would show hate and contempt for India in public gatherings in the city and towns. But would confidentially send a request to the Sahitya Academy, New Delhi that he was having some cardiac problem and it would be difficult for him to travel to Delhi to receive the award. He would, therefore, be obliged if the award money was sent to him by a draft payable at Srinagar. The Academy has been doing the needful faithfully. In fact, it was typical of votaries of "Kashmiriat" to flaunt their Islamic and separatist credentials while at the same time thrive on Central subsidies. Two years after the death of Sheikh Abdullah, his autobiography under the title "Atish-e-Chinar" was published. It was said that he had dictated this to Mr Mohammed Yusuf Teng, Director-General of Libraries and Director, J.&K. Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. The book is full of venom against Jawahar Lal Nehru. It also contains most defamatory accusations against Kashmiri Pandits. Sheikh Abdullah, his wife, and Mr. M.Y.Teng had every right to write whatever they liked. They were free to do so. But it was an act of appeasement on the part of Sahitya Academy to select the book for National Award. Normally, biographies or auto-biographies are not given awards. The award was given, which was received by Mr. M.Y.Teng, who was himself a Member of the Sahitya Academy, on behalf of Sheikh's wife, on the personal directive of Rajiv Gandhi the Prime Minister of India. Rajiv had asked the Security Wing of the Cabinet to go through the book and point out objectionable material. But simultaneously he directed that the award be announced. It could not be known under what pressure Rajiv had done so. There was furore in Parliament. Congress M.P.s were bitter that a book denigrating Nehru had been awarded. But since Rajiv had done it, all were silenced in no time. But this action gave sufficient signals to the State administration and politicians both pro-India and anti-India about Indian Government's perception. And in no time, more or less, the entire administrative apparatus including police found it expedient to switch over their inner loyalty to fundamentalists.

In May, 1983, Syed Shahabuddin addressed the students of Kashmir University on the occasion of seminar on Allama Mohammad Iqbal. He spoke in a highly communal vein and raised it to a highly emotional pitch. His words were full of communal outbursts and bitterness. Only an anti-Indian foreigner could make such sentimental and violent speech. His speech moved the students to raise anti-India slogans. Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah and other Ministers were also present. From August 15, 1983 onwards, there were a series of bomb explosions.



On October 13, 1983, extremely seditious acts were witnessed during the one-day international Cricket Match between India and West Indies. The Indian players were humiliated, harassed, hooted, heckled, abused loudly and assaulted with rotten fruits, pebbles and flag poles. Pakistan's National flag was waved extensively. Attempts were made to dig up the pitch. Kapil Dev had a narrow escape. On May 29, 1984, a violent procession was taken out by Muslim fundamentalists and Sikh terrorists in Srinagar. Several vehicles of Army and B.S.F. were attacked and five jawans injured. Slogans of Pakistan Zindabad and Khalistan were raised. On June 4, 1984, another combined procession was taken out in Srinagar in which naked swords were freely brandished. The crowds went on rampage and set a number of shops and houses on fire including a school run by the Arya Samaj and the 'Nirankari' Bhawan. The Hanuman temple was also attacked, the 'Pujari' beaten and the idol thrown into the river Jhelum. A bomb was exploded in Srinagar stadium on 15th August, 1983. On 13th August 1983, India Coffee House was the target of bomb blast. On 18th November, 1983, a bomb explosion occurred in house compound of Justice A.S. Anand, a judge of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court. A crude time bomb was exploded at Nagbal, Anantnag on 29th March, 1984. Administrative block and the library of the Kashmir University were subjected to bomb explosion on 11th April, 1984. On 22nd April, 1984, a bomb was thrown at the house of Shri Neelkanth Ganju, retired Sessions Judge. On 26th April, 1984, a bomb was thrown at old R.T.C. Bus Stand at Sopore.

When Farooq Abdullah became the Chief Minister third time in March, 1987, heading a coalition Government with Congress(I), the voters alleged that the National Conference and Congress(I) Alliance had indulged in mass rigging. This charge was confined to local circles. In the rest of the country, none except the B.J.P. took up the cause of voters. The Congress(I) was itself the major beneficiary of rigging so it ridiculed the B.J.P. Propaganda as communal. V.P. Singh was a senior Congress(I) Minister at the Centre. So nothing pricked his conscience. Elections had been held to West Bengal and Kerala Assemblies also and leftists had won in both the States. Therefore, for them the world was fine. For the rest, all hues of Dals: (A) Ajit, (B) Bahuguna now Bomai Lok Dal (C) Charan: Lok Dal (D) Devi Lal, any cause supported by the B.J.P. was a fit case for going opposite. They need not even know what the cause was. Now all parties including Congress(I) have found out that there had been massive rigging and that was the cause for militancy. Seeking immediate return for helping in rigging, Kashmir's bureaucrats prevailed upon Disco dancer, Farooq to raise the retirement age of Government employ-



ees by three years with retrospective effect. This was the first decision taken by the new Government. While there could be no objection to the decision as a matter of principle, it was most inopportune in the context of Jammu and Kashmir at that point of time. It completely blocked the employment of youth in Government jobs for three years. The bureaucrats and technocrats having entrenched themselves now began to fraternize with fundamentalist secessionists. This paralysed the administration at all levels. On 16th of May, 1987, the day of Id-ul-Zuha, Farooq was not allowed to offer 'Namaaz' and address the Id congregation at Idgah, Srinagar. It was a miracle how he was rescued by the security forces and saved from being trampled. Simultaneously, violence broke out in other parts of the city notably at Polo ground, Maulana Azad Road and Budshah Chowk. In panic, Farooq announced top administrative changes the same evening and next day left for Delhi for a change.

On April, 8, 1988, at a Friday prayer meeting at Anantnag, Shahi Iman of Jama Masjid, Delhi, Abdullah Bukhari made a virulent speech. He fomented pro-Pak sentiments and stoked the fire of fundamentalism. His inner motivation was evident from his reference to U.N. Resolutions on Kashmir and the emphasis which he placed on their implementation both in letter and spirit. He thundered: "accession of Kashmir to India is not final. Kashmir problem is a live issue needing solution". Muslims became restive with his provocative speeches some of which he delivered in Srinagar also. "If the Imam of Delhi (India) says this, who can prevent us from saving so". In a single political stroke, the morale of secessionists was sky high. The Shahi Imam's (of Delhi Jama Masjid) activities during his visits had surcharged the atmosphere. Immediately after this speech, large scale disturbances broke out. These disturbances coincided with the visit of Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Late Mr Premadasa to the Srinagar City. The agitators shouted slogans against India and also against late Mr Premadasa for killing of Muslims in Sri Lanka. Simultaneously, sympathy demonstrations were held for those Muslims who got killed due to series of explosions in a Pakistani ammunition depot near Rawalpindi. There were widespread disturbances in Srinagar, Anantnag and other towns in the valley. The emergence of fundamentalist leader Qazi Nissar had transformed the entire political and social scenario in Anantnag District. The visit of Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Delhi (India) to Anantnag and his close-door parleys with Qazi Nissar transformed the Qazi himself drastically. He proclaimed to be the Mirwaiz of South Kashmir and like Abdullah Bukhari said he was above Indian laws. After his talks with Bukhari, the Qazi began to mention Iran frequently in his discourses.



From July-August, 1988, a low-key terrorism had begun. On the night between July 31st and 1st August there were two bomb blasts and one dacoity. On August 4, one electronic watch time bomb was found at Lakhampur. On August 12, there was an explosion in an auto-rickshaw in one of the main Bazars of Jammu. On August 14, the Pakistan's Independence Day, Pak flags were hoisted in Srinagar city and other towns of the Valley. On August 15, black flags were put up at a number of places. On August 16, a pro-Pakistan mob attacked the police party on Nalla Mar Road, the mob shouting anti-India slogans. A police jeep was burnt down and some shops were damaged. On the night of August 16, an attempt was made to set on fire the famous Hindu shrine of Peer Pandit Padshah popularly known as Rishi Peer in down town Srinagar. After the sudden death of Zia-ul-Haq in an air crash on 17th August, 1988, virtual hell was created for several days. Anti-India slogans and also anti-Russia slogans rent the air. Shia's were also made target of attack. Consequently, prestigious Moharrum procession of Shia community in Srinagar was abandoned. Administration had prostrated before Sunni fundamentalists. On August 31, there was a bomb explosion in a stationary bus at Anantnag. One person standing nearby died. On September 10, 1988 some unidentified persons started indiscriminate firing at Rani Mandir, Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar. On the night intervening September 17 and 18, an attempt was made on the life of D.I.G. Police, Kashmir Range, Ali Mohammed Watali and his family members. On September 22, the house of retired Judge, Neelkanth Ganju was again fired upon. On September 23, at night, the lane between the office of the D.I.G. Police, Kashmir Range and I.G., C.I.D. was subjected to indiscriminate firing. On the night intervening between September 24 and 25, motor-cycle borne terrorists fired at the sentry on duty at the Srinagar museum. From the beginning of 1989 onwards, sporadic bomb blasts and frequent hartals on some pretext or the other were organised. In these, India was the main target of condemnation without consideration of the merits of the case. For instance, India was the first country in the world which banned the book 'Satanic Verses' by Salman Rushdie. India showed the way even to the fire-brand Islamic countries of Iran and Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, etc. yet in the protest demonstrations in Kashmir, all the abuse and filth was reserved for India for this book.

By 1988, the realisation emerged in Pakistan in a limited way that Khalistan could not be created. So, now onwards, terrorism in Punjab was used as a base operation of secession of Kashmir from India. Pakistan's I.S.I and its Chief, General Hamid Gul were totally committed to jihad in Kashmir. Gul was convinced that Kashmir could be taken by force. In



March, 1989, State Police unearthed 36 kalashnikov guns. Ansar-ul-Islam of Muslim Liberation Front was arrested. He gave details of Pakistani plans. On 14th and 17th March, '89, two major bomb blasts occurred in Hari Singh High Street, Srinagar killing two people and injuring many. The bombs had affected the two Punjabi business households, who were living there for more than one hundred years. The accused were arrested but later on released on parole. One of them was related to some police officer. A blast occurred in a Cinema hall injuring many. The residence of Dy. Superintendent of Police was also blasted. During 1989, there was not a single day when some incident did not occur in the Valley. Bomb blasts, killing clashes amongst the mobs and police and cross firing between the terrorists and armed police were the most common events. One could hear the sound of gun-fire everywhere. These events became daily routine and people got accustomed to it. Rajiv Gandhi Government pushed Kashmir in the present turmoil hoping to use the Kashmir card to divert people's attention to a decisive victory in the forthcoming elections for stability and national integrity. Abdul Rasheed Kabli, who was M.P. from Srinagar, issued umteen statements blaming Farooq Abdullah for turmoil to black-mail the Centre. Earlier Mustaffa Kamal, Farooq's youngest brother and a Minister had accused Governor Mr Jagmohan for sending 'wrong' reports to the Centre. Farooq himself behaved like a hot balloon drifting with the wind in all directions. His actions never matched his words. On 11th February, 1989, violence occurred in fairly large-scale. Disturbances continued on 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th and 26th February. India was condemned for hatching conspiracies against Islam. After 11th February, '89 bandh, Farooq Abdullah left on a foreign tour to Australia. From May 8 to May 13, 1989, there were 14 bomb blasts. A tourist bus proceeding from Srinagar to Gulmarg was fired upon and four tourists were injured. In Vicharnag, an important locality near the prestigious Institute of Medical Sciences and Research, a Hindu priest was murdered in the premises of the temple. In July, 1989, a holy relic was reported to be missing from a mosque at Soura, Srinagar. There was violent agitation but luckily the holy relic was soon found to have been surreptitiously restored at its original place. Anantnag and Bijbehara, however, continued to have violent demonstrations till the end of July, 1989. On July 13, 1989, a C.R.P. picket on duty in Srinagar was fired upon and two jawans were killed and two seriously injured. The J.K.L.F. announced on July 17, that "such attacks would be continued till our goal is reached". Another terrorist organisation. Hizbullah Islamia Jamhooria made a similar announcement. On July 20, a bomb was exploded in the Ladies' toilet in Khyam Cinema. On July 29, acid was



thrown on two young Muslim ladies who were moving about without a burqa. In the first week of August, 1989, the Chief Minister and President of the National Conference addressed a few public meetings at Sumbal, Kulgam, Badgam and one or two other places. In his speeches in these meetings he confessed that corruption was widespread in the State but his hands were tied by the High Court. He complained against functioning of Police Stations saying that S.H.Os were not entertaining people's complaints. He said teachers in schools never attended their duty instead kept an undated leave application with the Chowkidar to be dated and presented if there was a check. In a desperate mood, he confessed that he himself was confused. In his home, he added, if he wanted to talk to his elder daughter, he would call the younger one and vice versa. His speeches gave the impression that his Government was helpless and situation had turned beyond redemption. He advised the people not to smoke and complained that his two Cabinet Ministers (He named them) and the Chief Secretary were smoking even in the Cabinet meetings. He told his audience that he had enemies on all the sides but God always came to his help.

August 14, Pakistan's Independence Day was celebrated with gusto and gaiety. India's Independence Day, August 15, was declared as a black day. Indian flag was burnt at several places with policemen standing nearby on duty. Next day, Aizam Inqalabi issued a statement that India's flag had been burnt at several place by his organisation "Operation Balakot". Black flags were hoisted even on some Government buildings. Black-out was observed during night. Traffic was not allowed to ply. School children were warned not to participate in any function. Bomb blasts left almost sixty persons injured on this day. Street lights were switched off. Even the Secretariat Building was engulfed in darkness. Ministers belonging to Congress and National Conference also had to observe black-out in their official residences. A State Government bus was hijacked near Tangamarg and blown up after ordering passengers to get down. On August 18, about 50 persons were injured in violent incidents. There was massive bomb blast in the house of Abdul Samad and a car was destroyed. On August 18, Mohammad Shafi Qureshi, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Congress Committee(I) gave the following comment to the Press: "It was for the first time that secessionists had become so bold as to organise Pakistan Independence Day celebrations under the very nose of the Government. A March Past was held at the Government stadium and even 21 rounds were fired symbolising 21-gun salute. My own house was badly damaged when a bomb exploded in a garage. My Maruti car was damaged beyond repair. The Government did



nothing". Qureshi's Party chief and the Prime Minister of India was parroting: "hamain dekhna hai", "hum dekhengay", "hum ne dekha hai", "ham dikhayengey", "ham ne dikhaya hai". On August 21, Mohammad Yusuf Halwai, a leader of the National Conference was shot dead in the heart of Srinagar for having flouted the black-out order on 15th August. By August, 1989, many innocent lives had been lost. Everyone became apprehensive that something terrible was going to happen. As a matter of fact, bandh calls and hartals had become frequent. Government called a meeting of traders against hartals. There was a big bomb blast in the building where meeting was held. All participants dispersed immediately.

On September 14, an unshakable patriot, senior Advocate of High Court and also senior Vice-President of the J.&K. Unit of Bharatiya Janata Party, 58-year old Pandit Tikka Lal Taploo was coming out of his house in Chinkrala Mohalla, Habba Kadal, Srinagar. Two youngmen wearing helmets appeared before him. One of them greeted him- Salaam-presumably to confirm his identity. The other suddenly pulled out a kalashnikov and pumped in five bullets in close range into the abdomen of Taplooji. He laid motionless in a pool of blood. Half a dozen other bullets which sailed pass his body and got embedded in the nearby wall spoke of the ruthlessness of the attack and the cool confidence with which it was carried out. Fear of authority did not exist at all. The assailants walked away. Time was 10 a.m. Habba Kadal is the vast locality in the heart of the city and was predominantly inhabited by the Hindus. Through Tikka Lal Ji's gruesome murder, signal had been hoisted for the Kashmiri Hindu community that it was at the mercy of the terrorists. If a Hindu was not safe in and around Habba Kadal, how could any one of them be safe in the isolated pockets of far-flung and scattered villages. Fear gripped the Hindus in Kashmir. The State Government announced the relief of rupees one lakh for the berieved family. But next day, the family received a stern warning from J.K.L.F. that if it accepted relief from Government, the entire family would be wiped out. So after the post-death religious 'kriya karm' was over, the family members of Taploo Ji, for whom even the Muslim women had wailed, abandoned their ancestral home and left the State for unknown destination and uncertain future.

Shri L.K.Advani and Shri Kidar Nath Sahni came to Srinagar on 15th September to pay homage and attend to the last rites of the departed leader. At the Airport, they were met by Mr Saifuddin Soz who was a Member of the Lok Sabha. Soz had been sent by the Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah to request the two leaders to meet him at the Secretariat before proceeding to the cremation ground to attend the last rites of



Taploo ji. After all, the Secretariat was just on the way. The two leaders met Farooq who, as usual, moved his arms back and up and complained that the Central Government was responsible for all the mess in Kashmir because it had failed to stop infiltration from across the border. On 18th September there were a number of violent incidents in the Valley. Two Chinese-made hand-granades were hurled at a police party injuring 16 persons including ten police-men. The Deputy Inspector-General, CRPF N.K. Tiwari was attacked by two hundred strong mob at Basant Bagh, a police patrol car was also fired upon. Safa Kadal branch of J&K Bank was attacked and damaged. Kalashnikov rifles were flaunted and firing was resorted to by large number of subversives in Ali Kadal locality.

Messrs I.K. Gujral, Pran Chopra, Kuldip Nayar and Rajinder Sachar came to Srinagar. They went to meet Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq at his home. But they were forced to come back without being able to meet him. There was cross firing at many places. They later used Moulvi's own car and went to see him. He presented them apples. Newspapers now began publishing details of the activities of terrorists. Interviews with terrorist leaders were published and carried through cassettes. While photographers, media persons from outside Kashmir including those from abroad were able to meet the terrorist leaders easily and openly, the police authorities showed their inability in tracing them out. The son of a Dy. Superintendent of police was arrested in Anantnag for subversive activities but was later released. Two ministers of the Farooq Government were alleged to be financing the terrorists. A senior Minister in the Farooq Government. Mr Rajinder Singh Chib resigned from the Cabinet in protest against the soft policy adopted by the Congress(I)-National Conference coalition Government towards terrorists and subversive elements. In the first week of September, '89, there was a big fire in the famous shrine of Baba Rishi near Gulmarg. Warnings and warrants were sent to those who were working in the Central Government Departments like Intelligence Bureau, Doordarshan, Radio Kashmir, Telecommunications etc. Hit lists were published in the Press.

A prominent secessionist leader, Shabir Ahmed Shah, President of the People's League had been 'dodging' the authorities for quite some time. Going to Pakistan and coming back had been his routine. He was reported to be in touch with Afghan rebel leaders also and it was claimed on his behalf that he had contacted Hikmatyar, the Mujahideen leader of Afghanistan. The entire district administration of Anantnag appeared to be subservient to him, although police was supposed to be leaving no stone unturned in trying to arrest him. On 27th September, 1989, he took



a taxi in Anantnag and left for Rajouri on way to Pakistan. En-route, he calmly and in a dignified manner acknowledged salutes from policemen on duty at various check-posts. However, when he halted at a hotel in Ramban for lunch, he was arrested by the Central Intelligence Bureau officials who handed him over to the State police. The State police instead of taking him to Jammu brought him to Srinagar on orders from the higher authorities. This was a signal for the trouble in the Valley. There were widespread disturbances and complete hartal for several days. Subversion was raised to high peaks and the government got totally paralysed. A number of public buildings were set on fire. These included Handicrafts Centre at Sopore, Sheep husbandry office at Baramulla. Boys School at Tahab in Pulwama district. A Girls school in Ratnipora also in Pulwama district and a bridge near Pahalgam. A chinese-made hand-grenade was also hurled at Lal Chowk. Two relatives of policemen were gunned down in village Wagoora. There were many cases of arson of schools, shopping complexes, government offices, public buildings etc. When Shabir Shah was brought to Srinagar, Deputy Commissioner of Srinagar refused to sign his Warrant of Detention. Deputy Commissioner of Anantnag also flatly refused. When he was produced in the court, the government Advocates refused to appear against him. The Advocated-General decided to get out of the situation. He submitted his own resignation and returned to Delhi adopting Loyd George's formula of "Safety first". In Delhi, he was later appointed as Additional Solicitor-General of India. In this connection, it has to be noted and noted markedly that it was September, 1989 and Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister and the State was ruled by Congress-National Conference Coalition government headed by Dr Farooq Abdullah and among the Cabinet Ministers were the senior Congress leaders like Ghulam Rasool Kar, Mangat Ram Sharma, Iftikhar Hussain Insari and others. What were these worthies doing in the meanwhile? Farooq, his ministers and high Government officials were listening music and viewing dance at Gulmarg. There was a week-long programme jointly organised by the State Government and the Times of India group of newspapers. Yamini Krishnamurthy was dancing and classical music was on. The Union Home Ministry behaved like a bunch of headless chickens mechanically doing, cluck, cluck sounds totally unaccompanied by any action. Sardar Buta Singh was the Home Minister.

On 9th October, 1989, a large delegation from Pakistan visited Kashmir under official patronage. There were 60 people -- many V.I.P. wives. Government provided them all the facilities while they got busy with their mission. The total collapse of Government authority resulted



in utter demoralisation in the ranks of National Conference and Congress(I). The organisational structure of these parties collapsed like a house of cards. From then onwards local daily newspapers were full of paid advertisements inserted by leaders and workers of these two parties announcing their complete dissociation from their organisations and begging Shabir Shah to forget and forgive them. In the month of October, terrorism had begun to grow slowly but steadily. Violent incidents continued unabated. There were about 50 bomb explosions causing injuries to 39 persons and scores of cases of arson. There were 15 incidents of firing by the terrorists in which some people were killed and several injured seriously. The objectives of the first phase of subversion and terrorism was to create a general fear and paralyse the Government. From November onwards began the second phase. This phase was to achieve a decisive object. This object was to clear the Valley of the Hindus better known as Kashmiri Pandits so that Kashmir could become a de facto Pakistan. In his autobiography, *Atish-e-Chinar*, Sheikh Abdullah has called Pandits as fifth columnists of India in Kashmir. So the religious cleansing began in the Kashmir Valley as per plan. On 4th November, 1989, the fourth attempt was made to kill Pandit Neelkanth Ganju, retired District and Sessions Judge of Kashmir. He was gunned down by three young terrorists in broad-day light at the busy commercial market, Hari Singh High Street, Srinagar, which is very sensitive and well-guarded area. Police was also on duty in the area. The object of this murder was not only to dramatise the ascendancy of subversives and frighten the Hindus, who had taken *Taploo Ji's* murder in their stride, but also to instil fear in the minds of the members of the judiciary. The signal did not go unnoticed as the subsequent behaviour of the local judiciary showed. What was the fault of judge Ganju on whose life several attempts had been made. As a presiding judge of a special court, he had sentenced Maqbool Butt who had taken to terrorism in mid-sixties. He had gone to Pakistan, married there. He had infiltrated into the Valley and killed an Inspector of Police for which he was under prosecution. While on trial, he had slipped out of jail and gone to Pakistan. He again returned from there and looted a branch of the Jammu and Kashmir bank in the border area and killed its Manager. He was apprehended again. The prosecution team, the Approver in the case and all prosecution witnesses were Muslims. The offence was such that as per law only death sentence could meet the ends of justice. His appeal had been heard and rejected by the Muslim judges of the High Court. Supreme Court had also rejected his appeal. His mercy petition had also been turned down by the President of India. The friends



of J.K.L.F., who are in plenty in India, held the view that this was an act of political revenge and had no communal overtones. But these ladies and gentlemen failed to say why in the whole hierarchy only a local Hindu was picked up for the murder. Why was not a single Muslim killed as a revenge. Butt's case had been handled at all stages by local Muslims only. Then why was only a local Hindu picked up? From November 22 to November 29, there was total hartal in Kashmir. These were the days during which General Elections to the Lok Sabha were to be held. No voter dared to go somewhere near the polling stations. No candidate dared to hold even an indoor meeting or canvass for votes. So the matter ended. However, the formality was completed by declaring all the three National Conference candidates as successful. One was declared elected unopposed and two with a few hundred votes which were stated to have been polled.

The month of November saw 50 bomb and grenade explosions. Jawahar Lal Nehru's birth anniversary on November 14, was observed as "Black Day". The entire State apparatus had by now come under the spell of terrorists. Almost all the Muslim employees at all levels especially at the senior and higher level were keen to become collaborators. Farooq had left the State under the pretext of helping Congress(I) in its campaign in the rest of the country. AICC arranged his campaign tours in U.P. and Bihar. Many senior Congress leaders also did the same. Many Congress(I) men belonging to the Mufti group also left for Muzaffarnagar in U.P. to canvass for the Mufti who was contesting from there on the Janata Dal ticket. Ladakh district has one seat in the Lok Sabha. However, a treachery was committed on the Buddhist population both by the Congress and the National Conference by their mutually agreed strategy. In the electoral agreement between the two parties, Ladakh seat was given to the Congress. The Congress nominated Shri P. Namgyal, a sitting Congress member and a junior Minister in the Rajiv Government. However, local Congress bosses in clandestine arrangement with the National Conference leaders wanted to have a Muslim instead of a Buddhist from Ladakh. Congress put up a Congressman as independent and called him a rebel; but ensured that this rebel Congress candidate was elected. With the support of National Conference this rebel Muslim Congress candidate from Kargil was elected and Buddhist official candidate was defeated. For the first time, Buddhist region was left out from the national mainstream as an act of deliberate conspiracy hatched by the Muslim lobby both at the Congress High Command level and at the State level. Earlier, when the Congress(I) - National Conference Alliance



Government had been formed under the Chief Ministership of Farooq Abdullah in 1987, Buddhists had been left out of the Ministry also. In the fairly large-sized Council of Ministers there was not a single Buddhist from Ladakh not even at the level of Deputy Minister.

After elections were over and Congress lost power, Farooq Abdullah left for England. From there he had plans to visit America. The Central and State Governments had ignored all the violent events as playful acts of youth. Actually people had become fed up with Farooq blowing hot and cold in his public addresses. The Terrorists and fundamentalists never took him seriously but instead considered him as a helpful element for their smooth functioning. That was substantially true because Farooq Government never made even a show of opposition to terrorism. The almost daily incidents of subversion and terrorism given above particularly from July, 1989 onwards fairly indicate that a guerrilla war had been launched in the Valley. What was the response of the Government to the unprecedented violent situation. Between July and December, 1989, seventy hard core terrorists, who actually constituted inner war council set up by I.S.I. were released by the Congress-National Conference Alliance State Government. The detention of these terrorists had been confirmed by the Advisory Board headed by the Chief Justice of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court.

These seventy people were Chiefs or Dy. Chiefs of various secessionist outfits. On release from detention, these terrorist leaders who had been trained in arms and had been fully indoctrinated, organised their outfits and recruited hundreds of youngmen for their organisations. They had already had personal contact with ISI and it is the groups led and organised by these seventy people, who are fighting the guerrilla war with India on behalf of Pakistan. The situation in Kashmir by the end of October, 1989, was the upsurge against Farooq Government's inefficiency, corruption and inept handling of mass protests had converted itself into an anti-India movement under the command of the secessionists, who were in the vanguard. Subversion of police force and Government machinery had been successfully achieved by the militant subversives. No one at Central Government level or in the State Government took stock of the situation. No strategies were devised to counter the pro-Pak anti-Indian trends. No thought whatsoever was ever given to the serious problem of unhindered movement of weapons and ammunition across the Line of Control. There was no direction given from the top. Union Home Ministry remained most inactive and passive. Sometimes, orally concern was expressed over the increase in terrorist activities. The



Union Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh merely on one or two occasions "advised" the State Government to strengthen vigilance on the border, improve intelligence collection and try to isolate the elements trying to whip up anti-India feelings. The Congress leaders of the State were only busy in securing favours from Central agencies. Being the ruling party at the Centre, they thought they had an inherent right to obtain out of way and out turn favours. They were least concerned with what was happening within the State. The Government machinery and political process remained dormant at this critical juncture. Farooq Abdullah was deeply engrossed in his own pastimes and politically and administratively his role was confined to a show of a lung power without any worthwhile action on the ground. Finding the situation out of hand, he started blaming the Centre for keeping 'Kashmir' backward and attributed the unrest to the discriminatory policy of the Central Government. Addressing the Kashmir Chamber of Commerce in Srinagar, he said that the promise made to him by Rajiv Gandhi at the time of accord had not been kept inasmuch as one thousand crores of rupees had not been provided by the Centre for State's development as Rajive had promised immediately after reaching an accord with him. This kind of childish talk and rhetoric sent wrong signals in all directions. The mass protests were intensified and demand for "Azaadi" became more strident. The secessionists had also been busy in creating discord between Hindus and Sikhs in Jammu., just on the same lines they are now trying to do so between local population in Jammu and those who have gone their from Kashmir for shelter. Even the Army authorities were found to be complacent relying too much on civil administration and letting the Border Security Force to be responsible on its behalf. The Home Ministry was kept informed regularly and confidentially. Its own Intelligence Agencies had been doing their job under very trying and dangerous conditions. But they were doing it very efficiently and keeping the Government of India informed through their regular reports. The leaders of the minority community based in Srinagar were also doing their best in this regard. They were receiving back the 'Acknowledgement due forms duly signed in the Home Ministry in token of having received their communications. But it became clear that nobody in the Home Ministry had bothered to go through the reports and communications so received.

*"Ujaad gulistan Karne ko bas aik hi ulloo kafi hai,  
Har shakh pe ulloo baitha ho anjami gulistaan kya hoga"*



## Chapter-5

### Terror and Horror

"Those who do not learn from  
history are condemned to repeat it"

As a result of November General Elections to the Lok Sabha, Congress (I) Party failed to return to power. Janata Dal, in alliance with small regional parties, supported by Left Front and the B.J.P. from outside formed the minority Government at the Centre. Mr. V.P.Singh was elected the Prime Minister. Kashmir leader, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, who had joined the Janta Dal and had been elected to the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh, became the Home Minister in the new Government. On his return to his house, after oath-taking ceremony, he asked his elder daughter to telephone her brother in Srinagar, who was a student in Medical College there, to be cautious in his movements, as the terrorists might try to harm him. His daughter asked him what about Baby (his younger daughter, Rubbayya, who was working as a doctor in Lall-ded Government Hospital for Women in Srinagar was called 'Baby' in family Circles). Mufti confidently replied that he did not think that the militants would be so mean as to harass a girl, who was serving the people as a doctor in a Government Hospital. Alas! Mufti's estimation of fundamentalist terrorists proved utterly wrong. On the evening of December 8, 1989, it was officially announced in Srinagar that India's Home Minister's daughter, Rubbayya had been kidnapped by J.K.L.F. terrorist gang, who had demanded, as ransom, release of five dreaded terrorists, who had been arrested earlier. Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah was away in England. The Central Cabinet held a marathon meeting to devise ways and means of rescuing the virgin girl from the clutches of J.K.L.F. desperadoes. Desperate calls were made to Srinagar throughout night. But there was no response. The Governor, Gen. (Retd.) K.V.Krishna Rao was in Jammu but he being only a constitutional head could do nothing. He requested two State Ministers to call themselves a Cabinet sub



Committee and be available in Srinagar. The two Ministers left Jammu for Srinagar next morning. Early in the morning, on the 9th December, the Central Government rushed crack commando force of National Security Guards led by its Director-General, Ved Marwah. The Force was flown by air. However, there was complete administrative collapse in the State. Government's writ had ceased to operate anywhere. Many top Government functionaries were abetors of the heinous crime of abduction of an innocent girl who had been abducted while returning home after her day's duty, from a Matador van, which was plying regularly under a licence and route permit, between Jehangir Chowk and Nowgam, a new colony near the by-pass road. Nobody co-operated, either from Government or public, in tracing the girl. Mr. Ved Marwaha could not move an inch on the ground. Farooq Abdullah cancelled his onward journey to America and returned from England. After great restlessness and helplessness and on observing the ground realities in the Valley, the V.P.Singh Government decided to surrender before the terrorists. Consequently, surrender documents were prepared and two senior Cabinet Ministers, I.K.Gujral and Arif Mohammad Khan were deputed to Srinagar to contact the terrorists. The terrorists insisted on documents being scrutinized by their own nominees. This was immediately agreed to. The two Cabinet Ministers presented themselves before the two dignitaries, who had been approved by the terrorists for the task. One was a senior Government doctor and the other a sitting High Court judge. When the documents were authenticated by these two gentlemen, the terrorists also accepted them. The Government immediately released five top terrorist leaders at Nowhatta Chowk in Srinagar at 5 P.M. on 13th December, 1989. They immediately went to their headquarters. Violent processions were taken out in the city and in other parts of the Valley. "V" for victory sign was signalled everywhere. The civil lines area of Lal Chowk, Budshah Chowk, Maulana Azad Road, Residency Road were the special targets of wild crowds, who shouted death for Indians and called them 'dogs'. World media both print and electronic was in attendance. It was announced that a victory parade would be held next day at 5 P.M. in down-town, Srinagar and a Guard of Honour would be presented to the released terrorists. Media persons were advised to occupy vantage position well in advance, if they wanted to witness the parade. At night, the violent processions, victory sign and public announcements were shown on Srinagar Doordarshan and broadcast



by Radio Kashmir. Doordarshan also showed visuals of interviews with some supporters of terrorists, which its special team had recorded. Next day a grand parade was held as announced in which 31-gun salute was given to the freed terrorist leaders.

Half an hour after the release of terrorist leaders on the 13th, Rubbayya was released at a spot in another corner of the city. On reaching her house, Rubbayya said: "I don't have to go to Delhi. Who are they?" "Why should they order us about?" "I won't go," She cried. Without loss of a minute, the girl along with her mother was flown to Delhi in a special B.S.F. plane. The Prime Minister, V.P.Singh and his Cabinet colleagues all congratulated the Mufti for the safe release of his daughter. V.P.Singh personally put sweets in the mouth of his Home Minister on the successful culmination of the 'surrender' ceremony.

The Rubbayya episode proved to be a water-shed for terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir. National Conference-Congress (I) State Government headed by Dr. Farooq Abdullah simply abandoned the Kashmir Valley. The entire administration virtually fell into the hands of terrorists. Senior Government officers, engineers, doctors made their official vehicles, telephones, Orderlies etc. available to terrorists. Police Wireless began to work for terrorist outfits. Recruitment drive for sending boys to Pakistan began with great fanfare. Buses were sent to far-flung villages in Anantnag and Pulwama districts to fetch the young boys. Volunteers were decorated with new dresses, asked to pray at the mosque and then taken in processions for boarding the buses. The waiting buses gave the impression of marriage party with bridegroom about to leave for bride's house. These buses mostly from J&KRTC were to drop the V.I.P. passengers at designated places in Baramulla and Kupwara districts. After completing preliminary course in Islamic history, they were to be entrusted to the guides in batches to be taken to Pak-occupied areas from the month of March onwards, after melting of snow. Till then Islamic instructions were to be imparted intensively. This was considered more important than even the arms training for which they had to go "paar". Thus, towards the end of 1989, hundreds of boys and youngmen from Anantnag, Doda and Pulwama districts had already arrived at the specially set up training centres in Baramulla and Kupwara districts. By April 1990, almost all these recruits had already reached POK. There they were given military training for a period varying from three to five weeks. After training



they were sent back to this side. In fact, from April itself traffic was going on both ways. Those who had gone earlier began their return trek from March itself.

Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah agreed to make some changes in the top echelons of administration. A new Director-General of police was appointed. In Srinagar and other major towns, curfew was imposed on 14th, 15th and 16th December, 1989. On December 18, when curfew was relaxed, there were bomb blasts, arson, destruction of Government buses. Aiesha Amin's house was attacked. Terrorists began to take out huge processions. Welcome arches were created in the city and towns and folk songs were recited while welcoming the processions. Next day's programme began to be announced from public address systems of mosques. In the month of December, '89, many police personnel were killed by the terrorists --- Mustafa Qadri, Omkar Nath Wattal, DSP and Ali Mohammed Magloo were shot. There were bomb explosions in banks, in Satellite Station at Hari Parbat, Krishan Gopal and Hamidullah Butt of Police Department lost their lives. Their bodies were hung on trees to teach a lesson to others. Rice and sugar was taken out of Government godowns in Government trucks and stored in mosques for distribution from there. At the Western Bus Stand at Batmalloo, Srinagar, voices began to be heard soliciting passengers for Sopore, Kupwore, "apore" (Sopore, Kupwara and across).

Immediately after Rubbaya abduction, there were large-scale desertions from the National Conference at high level. Abdul Rasheed Dar, National Conference M.L.A. from Shangas (Anantnag district) resigned from the Party and Assembly and offered his services to the terrorists. The President of the Kashmir Provincial National Conference (Sadar-e-Sooba), Abdul Salaam Deva announced the conversion of the Provincial Committee of the National conference into the Provincial Committee of the Plebiscite Front, which he said had been revived in the State to fight for secession. The National Conference also abandoned its State Headquarters known as Mujahid Manzil in Srinagar. Thus the National Conference ceased to be a political party in the Kashmir Valley. All this happened by the third week of December, 1989. The Chief Minister and the President of the National Conference, Dr. Farooq Abdullah safely sheltered himself in Jammu and preferred to take no notice of these developments. Congress leaders had already wound up their show and had migrated to Jammu and Delhi. Gloating at the discomfiture of the new National



Front Government at the very start, they made a beeline to the house of their fallen leader, Rajiv Gandhi, to plan how the situation could further be complicated.

After the brutal murder of Pandit Tikka Lal Taploo and Pandit Neelkanth Ganju, the Hindu minority in the Kashmir Valley was having a precarious existence. But suddenly a great tragedy shook the nation. Pandit Prem Nath Bhat, an advocate by profession, author and journalist by temperament, social worker by choice and aptitude and an intellectual of rare abilities, was shot dead at 4 P.M. on 27th December, 1989 in the heart of Anantnag town. The killers were known people and belonged to the town. They first wished him and then pumped bullets into his head. He fell down. The murderers clapped for a few minutes and then walked away at ease. Nobody dared or cared to come near the fallen leader although he was personally known to each and every person of the congested locality. He was bleeding but still breathing and alive. He continued to be in this condition for half an hour or so. Police was nowhere visible. One of his relatives managed an auto rickshaw somehow and put him into it and carried him to hospital. There he was declared dead. Prem Nath Bhat had been friend, philosopher and guide to many Muslim personalities, lawyers and others. Some of these people were M.L.As. and Ministers. But their eyes got so turned away that none came even for condolences except Mohammed Akbar Ghanai, the Minister of State for Law and Parliamentary Affairs. Pandit Prem Nath Bhat was the noblest of noble Kashmiries who enjoyed tremendous confidence of Muslims also. Among his many achievements was the successful management of Vivekanand Kendra at Nagdandi, Achhabal. He was often invited to Muslims religious gatherings to deliver discourses on Islam and teaching of Holy Quran. He was a statesman of great eminence. In mid-fifties, he wrote an article in a prominent Weekly journal of Delhi, in which, after discussing all pros and cons, he had convincingly stated that the communist system would collapse in the Soviet Union in thirty years' period. Probably he was the only person in the world at that period of time to have made a statement which nobody could believe then but which has proved fully correct exactly after thirty years.

The brutal murder of Pandit Prem Nath Bhat shook, shattered and broke the back of Hindu minority in Anantnag town and the entire district. Not only the murder itself but the antipathy and unconcern of the Government and more frightfully of the majority community



left no doubt in the minds of Hindus that they could never remain alive in their homes. The paralysis of the Government machinery and the hostile attitude of the Muslim majority created shock waves and shivers among the Hindus. The spectre of an eminent person like Prem Nath Bhat lying critically injured on the road within the sight of all but none coming anywhere near it, was too much for a miniscule minority like Kashmiri Pandits, who had always wished well for the Muslims of the Valley. Consequently, in a week's time, hundreds of families had left their hearths and homes to take shelter in Jammu. The violent upheavals which continued unabated completely destroyed the sense of security of Hindus. Like earlier murders of two prominent members of minority community, i.e. Tikka Lal Taploo and Nilkanth Ganju, this latest 'heroic' murder was also committed by JKLF, whom some media persons staying safely in Delhi, give much respectability. On December 27 itself, a Deputy Superintendent was shot and seriously injured. On the same day five loud blasts occurred in the Valley. On December 28, the building of Handicrafts Department was badly damaged in bomb explosion. At other places, two police officers were shot at. One sub-Inspector died and the other Deputy Superintendent of Police was wounded. An ex-Serviceman was shot dead in Kupwara and five bomb blasts occurred in different parts of the Valley. A handgrenade was thrown on the Earth Sattelite Station at Hari Parbat in Srinagar. This was second time for this Station. Thus, the year 1989 closed with a rising tide of bloodshed and violence.

A powerful bomb blast which injured seven persons signalled the dawn of the year 1990. On January 3, 1990, the Inspector of Intelligence Bureau, R.N.P.Singh was shot dead near the main bus stand at Anantnag while he was returning to his house from a shop with a bag of atta. On January 5, one person was killed and several others injured due to bomb explosions. On January 6, four bomb blasts occurred injuring 30 persons. On January 8, an embroidery centre was set ablaze near Idgah, Srinagar. A police official was blind-folded, gagged, brutally tortured and then hanged from a tree in Hyderpora. A prominent Congress leader and former PCC Secretary, Ghulam Nabi was tortured in the same manner and hanged in village Kullar near Pahalgam. His crime, as indicated in the notice put outside the mosque, was that he had arranged a public meeting for Ms Ambika Soni during emergency days when she was the Present of Indian Youth Congress.



During the last 45 years, the docile Hindu minority had been lying very low and only interested in their routine day to day activities of making their two ends meet. They did not participate in any type of political activities. They had adjusted to their lot because in any and every agitation there would be an element of estrangement against Kashmir Hindus who happened to take the first brunt of the Muslim's wrath in one form or the other though not necessarily in a violent way. The National Conference, which was paraded as secular, has ever since its inception in 1938, based its approach to electorate through an appeal to religious feelings of the majority community who happened to be Muslims. Mosques were used then and continued to be used all the time as the platforms for the political purposes by the National Conference. The leadership never hesitated to create religious passion in order to establish supremacy of their leadership or fight against autocratic rule of Maharaja. These feelings against Hindus had alienated Kashmiri Pandits who were made the target of wrath of Muslim majority from time to time. This practice of pre-independence days continued even after Kashmir acceded to India. Discrimination based on religious feelings and sentiments was practised at official level by State leaders and administration again to please the electorate thereby to establish their leadership to browbeat India in order to achieve self-eminence and glory and secure their positions. These outbursts for personal ends had found expression in cries for independence, plebiscite or an Islamic State as part of Pakistan. Thus religion had become a factor in deciding the issues at all levels in the social order of the State irrespective of the fact whether the State was ruled by the National Conference or the Congress. The fundamentalist secessionist parties like Jamaat-i-Islami had always considered the small Hindu minority as an obstacle to the dream of carving out of Kashmir for Pakistan. With the appearance of the gun and terror, the separatists decided to eliminate this minority through harassment, force, torture and murder. A systematic campaign in this regard had been started. All the localities having Hindus were subjected to stone-pelting during nights. Firing in the air was resorted to during nights to create a scare. In spite of tremendous provocation in and outside homes from terrorists and their harbourers, the community kept quiet. It never even thought of retaliation and continued to live virtually under subjugation. Exemplary restraint was shown by young boys even in the face of acute provocation. It was not uncommon to see a Hindu boy while passing



through a village with his head low and trying to pass through the village as quickly as he could. This was due to Muslim children's shouts:

*"batta kati batta kati ratnaawath"*

*kalima - Mohammed paranaawath.*

(O, Pandit boy, we will get you caught and make you to recite kalma Mohammed, and thus make you Muslim).

Not a single Muslim was assaulted or even abused by any Hindu. In many cases it was the elder Muslim who would reprimand the youngster of his community for misbehaviour. But a Hindu would pay his regards to both. Pandits never smoke and eat in public during Ramzaan. There is no denying the fact that Kashmir was secular because Kashmiri Pandits are secular and are tolerant to the extreme. As there was terrible deterioration in the situation, the Hindu minority submitted a memorandum to the Governor of State, Gen. K.V. Krsihna Rao who was at Jammu. But the administrative collapse was so complete that even he found himself helpless and isolated.

In the meantime, the Government of India appointed Shri Jagmohan as the new Governor of the State on January 19, 1990. Jagmohan had earlier been the Governor of the State for five years - one full term, from May, '84 to June 1989. He had a very high reputation and had large number of development works to his credit during Governor's rule for a short time from march, 1986 to October, 1986. People had great expectations from him. But cheap and petty power politics of few individuals reduced these hopes and expectations to dust. But one thing is very clear that by his herculian single-handed efforts he did succeed in snatching away the Kashmir Valley from the clutches of Pakistan, in less than four months of his stewardship. The manner in which Jagmohan was stabbed in the back has been briefly described in Chapter 7. From the very beginning of the year 1990 the State administrative structure got mingled up and absorbed in the terrorist outfits. The few Hindu employees here and there were named "mukhbuir" (hostile). Therefore, priority was given to the action of hounding out the Hindus from the Valley. It was decided to achieve this aim in a very sophsticated manner so as to avoid any reaction or retaliation in Jammu or other parts of India. Instead of indulging in communal riots as such, it was decided to go in for selecttve killings and also create conditions which would make it impossible for Hindus to stay in the Valley. Some terrorist outfits



were understood to have committed to their masters across the border to make sufficient Hindu women available to them once the plan was implemented. Hundreds of Muslim women are reported to be missing from the Valley. These women appear to have become victims in the absence of Hindus who had fled away from the Valley. During the 1947 raid, large number of Hindu and Sikh women mostly from Muzaffarabad and Mirpur were carried away and sold in the Bazaars of Rawalpindi and Peshawar. Many were pushed to the tribal areas of Waziristan etc. Christian nuns, doctors and nurses of St. Joseph's Church Mission and Hospital in Baramulla were first gang-raped and then killed. Indoor women in maternity wards were not spared either.

By now the terrorists brandishing their guns were lording it over people everywhere. In the city, towns and villages, besides the gun shots, only barking and howling of dogs and bitches was heard. The subversives appointed their agents in all offices to ensure that they abided by their dictates. Truck-loads of medicines from Government hospitals were shifted to underground hospitals run by the terrorists. A large number of white-coloured vans painted with "Red Cross" and word "Ambulance" mushroomed in the Valley. Ostensibly carrying patients, these vans were used for taking arms and ammunition for storing in interior areas of the city and in towns and villages. One big medicine store was found out in the basement of a big mansion in Naugam locality of Srinagar from where Rubaiya was abducted. Hospitals have been the main centres of terrorist activity. What was going on in hospitals-A terrorist feigning dehydration and with a saline drip on his arm. Terrorists using the Nurses Hostel for night halts and arms and ammunition stacked neatly in medical kits. This is a continuous phenomena. Terrorists come to hospital for hiding and use patient's beds to evade arrest. Many terrorists have got identity cards of the hospitals issued by the concerned Medical Superintendents. Inside hospitals, regular meetings are held by the terrorists. Most of the special rooms for the patients have been permanently allotted to the terrorists under an allotment in the name of their patron doctor. Incidents of kidnapping, killing and attacks on their target inside the medical facilities premises are rampant. Terrorists shot dead the Librarian of the Government Medical College Hospital, Srinagar, Mohan Lal in broadday light and attacked Dr Mrs Girja Dhar, Principle of Medical College inside the College premises. Yasin Malik of JKLF was made to escape from the custody from the



Medical Institute, Soura by top-ranking doctors in April, 1990 and VIP treatment to another top terrorist, Hamid Sheikh by the doctors, who prevented police from entering and talking to him on pretexts are the instances of pro-terrorist wave gripping the psych of medicos in Kashmir. The sympathy and support which the militants are apparently getting from the medical establishments was revealed when Delhi Police arrested a trustee of Jhelum Valley Medical College, Dr Mehrajuddin. He along with the Deputy Director of his College, were found in possession of incriminating documents and charged with sedition, murder and connivance with the terrorists. The doctors being the vanguard of intellectuals supporting militancy, are in the fore-front of the movement. The leading doctors like Late Dr Abdul Ahad Gooru, Dr Mehrajuddin and Dr Altaf Hussain openly supported the terrorists. Dr. Abdul Ahad Gooru has since been murdered allegedly by the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, the rival of JKLF, with which Dr Gooru was associated. The doctors have been violating the code of conduct of their noble profession, which is not harmed or interfered with even in battlefield between two warring armies.

Pakistani electronic media exhorted the people in the name of Islam, in a fiercely launched aggressive propaganda blitz to take guns and launch the violent struggle. Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto appeared repeatedly on Pak T.V. and with aggressive physical gestures urged the Muslims of Kashmir: "goli chalo", "goli chalo" (shower bullets, shower bullets). She shouted "Azadi". "Azadi" and assured the Muslims that they had the full support of not only Pakistan but the entire Muslim Ummah. India's Doordarshan in those days also contributed its mite in spreading violence by regularly showing live visuals of violent demonstrations in Azerbaijan, Romania etc. Pakistani media continued to urge the people to come out on the streets and defy the authorities and the rule of law by violence. Curfew was imposed in a few localities in Srinagar to conduct searches for arms and also flush out terrorists on 19th January, 1990. In retaliation, terrorists led a huge crowd of people in a violent procession at Gaw Kadal area and many other localities simultaneously. The terrorists got mingled into the crowds and having the mass of people as shields, they fired shots at the security forces, who having been trapped by surprise and sudden firing on all sides, returned the fire. This resulted in the killing and wounding of many people.



Then came the dreadful night of 20th and 21st January, 1990. Whole Valley seemed to be bursting with maddening shouts and slogans. Terrorists crying from loud-speakers fitted on mosque tops were asking the people to come out on streets. Sound of commotion and hysterical screaming spewed out of hundreds of mosques. By evening large number of people came on the roads in all parts of Valley. Hindus were also asked to join the jihad and shout for ``Nizam-e-Mustaffa''. Hindus were forcibly put in front of the processions on the roads. They were asked to shout "Indian dogs go back" and such other slogans. Hindus were asked to be in the front to bear the brunt if there was any action by the Security forces. Many Hindus fell victims in this way. But their bodies were quickly removed by the terrorists and therefore, could not be identified. One such victim was Shri Ambardar a resident of Natipora. The situation became alarming and frightful for the Hindus. The slogans being raised were:

*"Kashmir mein agar rahna hai;*

*Allah-ho -Akbar kahna hai";*

*"Kashmir banawav Pakistan: battav rus batnew saan".*

(We will make Kashmir Pakistan along with Kashmir Hindu women but without their male-folk).

The huge processions were visible everywhere. The slogans were impinged on eardrums and Hindu psych like bomb blast in an air raid. Hindus were full of anxiety and fear. Anything could have happened anytime any minute. They were apprehensive, helpless and in a dazed state of mind. The entire surroundings shook by the blast of human voices in fearful anger. There were slogans and loudest possible shouts from a mass of human beings resonating from the open blue sky of a cold wintry night. Death appeared to be dancing around all Hindu houses. What the mobs might do in a jiffy could not be imagined. Getting in touch with police was not possible as there was none. The administration had abdicated the primary responsibility of protecting innocent and peace-loving men, women and children. The angry mass of humanity was patently like the Lord of death himself -- about to act. It appeared as if Hindus were frozen in a stupor. "Allah-O-Abkar"! "Allah-O-Akbar", "Indian dogs go"! Burn, burn alive the Indian dogs". These were the fiery slogans by the crowds, which often halted near the Hindu houses of their choosing and emphasizing the slogans more vehemently than before.



The terrorists brandishing their guns had surrounded the people and controlled their minds on all fronts and people had chosen to go along with them because they appeared to be the winning side. In the crowds were the Government employees of every strata -- top officials, seniors, juniors, professionals, technocrats, teachers, policemen and, in fact, everybody. No member of the minority community could sleep that night. Sorrow, anxiety, fear, tragedy, grief and nervousness gripped them. Women missed their beats at the very thought of what would happen to them. There seemed nothing except volumes of darkness which had overwhelmed the grim city. The noises increased in volume and suddenly burst into loud screams from all directions. They were coming from loud speakers from the mosques and from processionists. They were denouncing Indians, calling for jihad, asking people, young, old, male or female to come down to the roads. Asking them to fight Hindu India, abusing non-believers. Threatening Kashmiri Pandits. They were shouting: 'eliminate every Indian', 'pray to God for elimination of kafirs' "batta biul -- khudayan gole" (death to battas (Pandits), death to seeds of battas).

Fear started taking toll of the Hindus. Women fainted and some started crying hysterically. Males, though unable to find earth under their feet, kept going up and down the house and sometimes trying to peep through the windows. Hoping that the moment of hopelessness and desperation may not come, deep inside the core of their hearts they began to get prepared for the death. Outwardly they kept on consoling women and children. But the night seemed too long with the families huddled in the corners of their houses. They prayed Mata Vaishnav Devi. They started reciting Mother Bhawani's name, Mother Sharika's name and 'mantras' believing that the dark moment will end soon and they will see the light of the day. They had been abandoned by their own Government, by their own motherland and were now paying for their patriotism and love for Bharat. There was the signal of danger for every non-believer in Islam, especially Kashmiri Pandits because they are the only permanent residents of Kashmir other than the Muslim majority. Outside, bonfires had been lit out of the wooden planks of Hindu shops and wooden fencing of Hindu houses. All this fateful night, in all Hindu families, girls and children cried. Parents became ready to 'save' their young daughters at any cost, even if it meant killing them. Blow had been dealt. Warning of the fundamentalist did reach the Kashmiri Pandit community that their presence in the Valley will not be tolerated any more.



As the first golden ray of the Sun touched the 'wretched' land called Kashmir on the morning of January 21, 1990, exodus began. Groups of fear-stricken Kashmiri Pandits with whatever their handy articles like a suit-case or a handbag, left the Valley. Property did not matter, they had the honour intact.

The horror and terror created by the fundamentalists against the Hindus had not been witnessed in this century. Nasty posters were pasted on the doors of the Hindu houses. They could not come out even to get essential commodities. The tragic and dreadful was the condition of the Hindus in rural areas particularly of these living in scattered villages in border areas of Kupwara and Baramulla districts. Being close to infiltration routes and terrorists' training places, they were virtually passing their days in jaws of death. Their agony was more severe in as much as they were far away from the main roads and the National Highway. The question of distance was very precarious. By the time a person from Srinagar or Anantnag district would be able to escape out of the Valley and cross the Peer Panchal range, a person from Kupwara and Baramulla districts would hardly reach Srinagar. For them continuing to live in their villages even temporarily was definitely impossible. But coming out also created very difficult problems. However, they had to flee. Each day was becoming intolerable. The method of shouting the slogans like: "Narai Rissalaya Rasool Allah" and "Narai Takbeer" had changed. It was not the same as Hindus in Kashmir were accustomed to. Now it was being uttered in such quickness and in such martial manner that it created a frightening spectre of some invading hordes marching in. Young children, boys and girls were frightfully under gushing tears. Old and infirm were bewildered as to what had happened. Time was running fast. Hindus had to escape if they wanted to remain alive as Hindus and save their womenfolk from the clutches of abductors. So the Hindus left their hearths and homes from these border districts. Families in twos and threes were seen leaving. No vehicular transport being easily available they could carry nothing barring a bag or a box. Octogenarian and septagenarian, men and women, sick and infirm, all were limping hoping to reach the National Highway from where they hoped to get something which could take them to..... Take them where? Nobody knew? Some said Jammu. Others said, "let it be hell, but let us leave somehow quickly". For several days they travelled without food or water. "You faint, you come to, you faint, you come again", said an ailing man - he must have been nearing ninety. With



torrential tears gushing down countless Pandits, they surged forward blindly dredging along unknown paths, dragging their feet towards unknown destinations-pulled forward like helpless pawns.

Thus they were forced to leave their villages where their ancestors had been living from the dawn of history of mankind. They left their blooming and blossoming orchards. They left thriving shops and business. They left fertile paddy lands for uncertain future. Why were they in such a haste? They had tasted trauma not once but twice earlier in 1947 and 1948. Some of their folk had been forcibly converted while others had fled and come back only after the Indian Army had re-occupied the areas. But present trauma was terrible. Gunfire was continuous and designs were sinister and deep. Terrorists had planned their work carefully and were working their plan meticulously. So the Hindus left, may be for ever. The song of Kashmir's greatest national poet of modern times, late Dina Nath 'Nadim' resounding in their ears:

*"Wumran hund asi yeti Oal pannum,  
nundabone setha yechkole pannun".*

(This is our ancient beloved, darling and affectionate home).

Suddenly, somebody cried, we have reached Shalteng.O, Shalteng! They had heard of the battle of Shalteng. It was here that in November, 1947, the Indian Army had sacrificed its numerous officers and jawans but had ultimately vanquished the enemy and had saved the Srinagar city and then the whole Kashmir Valley. Why not now? Has our Army surrendered? Forget about it and go ahead, shouted a youngster, who was keen to take his group somewhere before it was dark. So began the unprecedented exodus of the original natives of the Kashmir Valley. They had to flee because they were Hindus. The only way to remain in their homes happily was to embrace Islam. Thus, the exodus became inevitable.

Eminent professional and highly qualified Hindus were employed in vital Central Government Departments like telecommunications. Radio, Television, Scientific Research Laboratories, Geology, Mining, medicine and Intelligence agencies. In order to bring these Central organisations to standstill, these employees were given threatening notices to quit or be killed. Man to man messages were sent to many members of the minority community. Juniors were asked to kill their superiors and get promoted to their vacant posts. In short, pattern of clearing the Valley of the Hindus was set. It



became a daily routine to put up hit lists outside the mosques locality-wise. Some times hit list was pasted on electricity poles near the house of the would-be targets. Many individuals got scent from their close Muslim friends about their impending murder. In many cases Hindus had to flee from their working place itself. An officers of a Central Government got such a threatening message that when his boss heard it his boss fearing worst, urged him to leave at once for Jammu or Delhi. He could not get air seat either for Jammu or for Delhi, and one was available for Leh so he ran away for Leh. From there to Chandigarh and then to Jammu. In Appendix of this book are given some cases of gruesome murders. These are some sample cases. About one thousand Hindu men and women were murdered. Many were mentioned as "unidentified" body. In some cases relatives of deceased are still waiting for the "missing" to return.

Pakistan's I.S.I. now changed its tactics and sent more help to the fundamentalist organisations Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and also got new outfits created. The new groups were more than hundred in number. Major ones were: Ikhwan-ul Muslimeen, Allah Tigers, Al-Mehr, Hizb-Ullah, Muslim Janbaaz Force, Paasban-i-Islam, Yalgar-i-Ali, Al-Mustaffa Fighters etc. etc. A vicious anti-Hindu campaign was launched. Films were shown on Pak T.V. depicting Hindus as infidels and followers of Satan. Hand-written posters of Allah Tigers, Al-Mustaffa Liberation Tigers appeared in Rawalpura, Rainawari, Habba Kadal, Natipora, Jawahar Nagar etc. asking Hindus to leave Kashmir by February, 1990. Local newspapers were virtually functioning as mouthpieces of terrorist organisations. Through newspapers, Muslims were advised to withdraw money from their accounts with the State Bank of India and other Indian Commerical Banks and Post Offices. Fixed deposits were also ordered to be terminated. Posters, handbills were found pasted at the doors and at corners of lanes of the localities where Hindus lived in considerably good numbers. These posters were issued by Allah Tigers and read as under:

*"Allaho - Akbar, Awake and arise Muslims;  
Run away infidels (non-Muslims). Jihad is ahead"*

The following warning was published as a top hed-line of Daily ALSAFA NEWS (Urdu) published from Srinagar. This paper was considered as terrorists' mouth-piece:



*"Kashmiri Pandits responsible for duress against Muslims, should leave the Valley within two days."*

*"Warning issued by Hizb-ul-Mujihideen".*

With Mr. Jagmohan's appearance on the scene, Pakistan's I.S.I. realised that its dreams would be thwarted. These were, as a matter of fact thwarted. The Governor did save the State from being run over by Pakistanis. But as has been our misfortune in regard to Kashmir policy, if one correct step is taken, it is followed by two wrong steps and elements within India mushroomed in no time to sabotage any step that was taken to remove uncertainty in Kashmir. It will be absurd to think that the Government of India was not in the know of what was brewing. And yet it chose to look the other way even as the Muslim fundamentalists entrenched themselves in every sphere of Government in the Valley to declare final war on Hindus and the Union of India. Shri Jagmohan, as Governor of J.&K., who sought to stem the rot and foil the design of Islamic zealots thus had become anathema to the separatists. Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Delhi, Abdullah Bukhari also expressed his displeasure on the Governor's appointment. So when the Governor's administration started taking correct measures, he was recalled ungraciously. The country watched with disbelief and helplessness the Government's capitulation to the orchestrated campaign against the Governor. It is no secret now that sinister elements, with influence in the higher echelons of power, were working to ease the way for the separatist demands in the Valley. Kashmiri Pandits were made the first targets of Muslim terrorists because they symbolised the secular cultural traditions of Kashmir. Across the border, Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto publicly launched a campaign against the Governor of an Indian State and raised her voice on Pakistan T.V. saying: "Jagmohan ko Bhag Mohan Karengay". (Jagmohan will be made to flee). She was joined from the Indian side by Rajiv Gandhi and his Congress Party, by the communists, socialists, Peoples Union of Civil Liberties and like groups and factions of Union ministry in collaboration with Muslim Members of Parliament from the State. Along with anti-Government campaign, atrocities on Hindus were aggressively stepped up. Murder of Hindus on roads, in their shops, business establishments, in their homes, even in Government offices while performing their duties was continuing unabated. Every brutal killing of a Hindu on the road was followed by clappings, dancing and singing around



the dead body in full gaze of passers-by, shop-keepers, on-lookers and others. Local police, if anywhere around, would put a smiling face and innocently watch the dance. It was only after a CRPF or a BSF party reached the spot that the corpse was lifted by them and handed over to the relatives, if available, otherwise cremate it themselves. The terrorists acquired unchallenged might as the entire power structure passed into their hands without a single exception. Only Pakistan currency was allowed. After every Friday prayers, some Indian currency notes were burnt publicly as a token of hatred and malice. Watches were turned back by thirty minutes to co-ordinate with the time in Pakistan (which is behind IST by half an hour). Wrist watches were ordered to be tied on the right-hand wrists.

The barbaric killings of Jews by Nazis pale into insignificance in comparison to cruel killing of Hindus by Pak-trained terrorists. The terrorists sprayed bullets from their AK-47 rifles on a Hindu victim to their heart's fill. They enjoyed torture deaths by causing cigarette burns on the maimed bodies of youngmen kidnapped from their homes. They nailed the bodies of their victims to death after hollowing their eyes and/or cutting the tongue/lips. The killings of Hindus by ones or twos every day frightened the minority community to its bones forcing it to take to its heels and seek shelter outside the Valley under the open sky where even basic minimum amenities were not available. Several soldiers and policemen of para-military forces were caught by terrorists into ambushes and after torture were blown off with bombs or explosive material tied round their bodies. The killings of Hindus, rape of their women-folk, loot and arson of their property went on unhindered. Mass exodus started in a big way. People would rush to the bus stand in the morning during the relaxation of curfew to go to Jammu leaving behind their clinics, office chambers, bank accounts, fixed deposits, bank lockers, machinery and whatever they had. The entire Hindu population in the rural areas was solely dependent on their rural assets like small segments of agricultural land which they tilled themselves after having had to part with half of it consequent upon the "Communal Award", which was inflicted by the Congress(I) Government manned by Mir Qasim, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed and other in 1971 in the shape of most discriminatory land Reforms Act. This Act had virtually crippled the rural Hindus. After great struggle, they were existing on the income from orchards which they had nurtured by parting with "stri dhan" of their women-folk. So, while fleeing, they were paupers and pen-



nyless. They left behind property costing thousands and thousands of crores in the City, towns and villages scattered throughout the Valley. Many Hindus had to exchange "deojihor" (Mangalsutra of their women-folk made of gold, which is ordained to retain in her ears permanently) to get a lift in a truck or taxi upto Jammu (300 kms hilly road). Many families from far-flung villages had to foot long distances to reach the main high way to come out of the Valley, which India's vote-bank jugglers call an integral part of the country.

Heart-rending and pathetic is the story of the Hindus from the rural belt of the valley. Most of them had to flee in the darkness of night to escape the ever-vigilant eyes of the blood-thirsty terrorists. It was a heart-breaking scene to watch women and children, old and infirm, struggling along Srinagar-Jammu National Highway as the Hindus from the villages began their hazardous journey away from the clutches of the terrorists. Dazed and aghast at the sudden change of fortune and tears rolling down their cheeks, they were lost in sea of thoughts. Many elders had tied their heads with strong cloth to get some relief from acute headache which had afflicted them due to continuous overnight weeping. Mentally they were still in their house, in their village. The portraits of Lord Shiva in his tapasya mood, Lord Krishna with the flute along his consort Radha, Lord Ram, Sita, Lakshman with Hanumaan at their feet and Mata Durga who is called with numerous names in this ancient Valley of vedic Hindus - all these were left hanging in the house. The village temple and dharamshala for the renovation of which the youth had worked so hard and above all the cow-shed, paddy-shed, the vegetable garden, the paddy fields, almond and apple orchards, thick poplar, willow and other trees. These were their means of livelihood. What would happen to "gaw mouj" the mother cow whom they had entrusted to a Muslim friend in a neighbouring village? These were the thoughts coming to their mind again and again - They shook their head. Reality was glaring at them. O' ! Qazigund had passed. Turning their eyes left, they noticed Verinag was deep down the mountain -- the source of sacred river Vitasta. But why only Vitasta, the whole Valley of Kashyap Rishi is sacred:

*"Sarva Teerthan hund phal chhu Kashmarsei,  
 Shiva Shankarsei chhe Posha pooza".*

("Kashmir Valley has the sanctity of all the pilgrim centres of Bharat Varsh: Shiva is great, Shiva is great, we offer flowers to him")



Rubbing their eyes and trying to stop the tears, they had a last look at "Mouj Kasheer" (Mother Kashmir) and bowed in reverence to her as the Valley slipped away their gaze at the Jawahar Tunnel.

So much terror had been spread by the terrorists that people from Srinagar had to hire taxis paying five times the normal rates of fare and fled in the early hours of the day. It may be mentioned here that almost 98 per cent of the private owned public carriers, viz, trucks, taxis, buses are operated and owned by the Muslims. Many Hindu families in Srinagar were liquidated while they were just boarding the vehicles for leaving. The forced exodus of the original natives of the Valley is perhaps unparallel in the history of the world when the entire population of a particular religious minority (Hindu) community in a peaceful and calm region of a secular country was forced to leave its place of birth and origin, a homeland inhabited by this accommodating, tolerant, educated community given to intellectual pursuits for thousands of years. Leaving everything behind, they have been forced to seek shelter in the lanes and barren rocks of Jammu and other places facing scorching heat of summer months to which they were not accustomed, followed by torrential rains, hail and storms uprooting the tented accommodation and exposing young children, aged infirm and sick to innumerable miseries. In absence of any planned migration, no arrangements whatsoever could be made for their shelter thus causing them to scatter in different directions -- wherever they could get some accommodation -- thus separating a brother from a brother, a neighbour from a neighbour, a friend from a friend and bringing unknown faces near to each other in refugee camps. Many of them became victims of heart strokes, heat strokes, snake bites and other mishaps. It took them several months to know whereabouts of one another.

At this time a campaign was launched by the designated spokesman of terrorists that the Pandits were leaving the Valley at the behest of State's Governor. The apologists of the terrorists picked up the thread and maligned the beleaguered Hindu minority of Kashmir to their heart's content. Ballyhoo after Ballyhoo was mounted. As Shri Jagmohan had been Vice-Chairman of Delhi Development Authority and also Lt. Governor of Delhi, for a long time, many people had personal grudge against him on some account or the other. In utter meanness, personal revenge was given priority over the national interest and in the process unfortunate miniscule Hindu minority was thrown to dust and mud. It appeared that sense and brain had taken



leave of them when they propagated that the Governor had assured these Hindus that if they left Kashmir, he would provide them plots and houses in Jammu and Delhi. And, therefore Hindus had left otherwise the Kashmir valley was purely secular and only Kashmiri Pandits did not deserve to live there. This preposterous and highly defamatory propaganda added salt to the wounds of a Community worst hit by terrorist violence. The observation of famous thinker that "A time comes when the torturer blames the victim himself for his problems and misfortune", appears quite relevant here. Pandits left when their life, honour and property were at stake. Property could not be saved but life and honour have been saved by those who escaped from the clutches of the terrorists. Among the Kashmiri Pandit community were Marxists, socialists, Royists, Radical Humanists, Human Rightists. But they too were as much sinner as the common Hindus. These persons were first to run away to save their lives. The High Commands of C.P.I., C.P.M. etc. should have enquired from their party-men as to who had persuaded them to quit. The late lamented Rajiv Gandhi never found it necessary to find out from his National Conference friends as to who had prepared and provided them emigration papers for settling in Delhi. The communists were in the vanguard for demanding economic development, employment and autonomy of the State. Why was then the Communist leader Abdul Sattar Ranjore killed? Why is Mr Yusuf Tarigami hiding in Jammu with his cadres and spreading his palms for doles from the Government. They are no doubt Muslims but are not practising Muslims and do not believe in "Nizam-i-Mustaffa". So they had to run away like Hindus. On the other hand, large number of Congress Muslims, who made fortunes during the last four decades, overnight changed colours, stopped talking about politics, and turned into practising Mullas. And they are living in the Valley. A few thousand Hindus are still left in Kashmir scattered in the villages and a few of them in the city of Srinagar. They could not leave in time and later on they were not allowed to leave. The terrorists groups notably JKLF is using these Hindus as hostages and show-pieces for propaganda purposes. Many media persons from abroad had been invited to take photographs and films of these unfortunate people to put dust in the eyes of Western liberals. They have to carry the terrorists "passport" and "Visa" if they want to go out for any urgent purpose. Periodically, they are presented before the terrorist high command to get the permission to stay extended and renew their



assurance of good behaviour. By now they know fully well that they will now either be allowed to stay under full restrictions or will be liquidated. There is no third option left for them. If some of them can manage to give a slip to the terrorists that is another matter. But it will only be a very rare case because their movements are under strict watch at all levels, from village to city.

The kidnappers in the Valley are having a field day now with public concern over kidnapping fading away. After Rubaiya Sayeed episode, next shot in the arm of the kidnappers came with the virtual surrender of the Government following the abduction of Mrs. Nahida Imtiaz, daughter of Mr Saif-u-Din Soz, the National Conference leader and that of K. Doraiswamy, Director of the public Secor, Indian Oil corporation. Consider the facts,. The Government said in public that it had released only one terrorist in exchange of Nahida but actually released five dreaded terrorists. In the case of Doraiswamy there was utter confusion. As demanded by the terrorists, Government had agreed to release five terrorists in exchange of this official. But the State administration and the Central Government were unable to co-ordinate their response. The subversives capitulated on the confusion and secured the release of nine terrorists including, it was reported, the killer of Vice-Chancellor, Mashir-ul-Haq and H.M.T. General Manager H.L. Khera in exchange of Doraiswamy. A released terrorist, Javed Ahmed jubilantly told his supporters: "We are fighting an enemy, who gives more than what we demand". The high profile Minister of the Central Government, Mr Rajesh Pilot smilingly posed for the photographs after formalising the Instrument of Surrender. A national humiliation became an occasion for celebration.

Mrs Khemlata Wakhlu, a former Minister and her husband, Mr Onkar Nath Wakhlu an outstanding engineer and a former Principal of Regional Engineering College, Srinagar were staying in their house in Dal Gate Srinagar. They had been provided six security guards by the J.&K. Police. These guards were camping outside in a tent. On September 4, 1991, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen kidnap gang closed in on their prey in total silence. The J.&K. Police outside surrendered and put up their hands in submission. As the militants were breaking open the front door of their house, the old couple locked the bed-room from inside and then shifted in the adjoining bath-room. "We are going to blow up right there, so you have a nice bath till then", shouted the gang members. Trembling with fear, the



couple unlocked the door, to be herded into a car and driven to unknown destination. In a rarest of rare acts, they were rescued by the Army after several weeks. It may be mentioned here that the two Wakhlus are eminent intellectuals, who have done tremendous work for the upliftment of Kashmiri population. The kidnapping were designed to paralyse the Central services, perceived as instruments of Delhi's rule. Only for two spells in the past under Jagmohan's Governorship and in early days of G.C.Saxena's tenure did the State try to assert itself with tough counter measures. But tough postures came to the abrupt end as soon as late lamented Rajiv Gandhi pressurised Chandra Shekhar Government to release dreaded militant in lieu of Mrs. Nahida Imtiaz. The Doraiswamy kidnapping drove the last nail into the coffin.

Terrorism is in full bloom in the Kashmir Valley. In Jammu region, during the years in 1990 and 1991, terrorists operated only sporadically. A few bomb blasts and firing in Jammu City and abduction of French Engineers from Dul-Hasti project in Doda district were the main incidents. But during 1992, terrorism entered Jammu region with full fury. Doda district has been the target of widespread terror. From the middle of 1992, the terrorists have been in control of the district. Senior Police officers were killed in fierce encounters. The Doda District has now been taken over by the terrorists on the pattern of Kashmir Valley. They are now operating on the Jammu-Srinagar National Highway which extensively passes through this district. The costly equipment of Border Roads Organisation has been object of bomb blasts and rocket attacks. The terrorists's aim appears to be to block the National Highway significantly and make vehicles of Army and security forces special targets. The incidents of bomb blasts, guerilla attacks on civilians, Government officials and security forces leading to the disruption of civil life point to a well-prepared enemy plan. Nearly sixty persons have so far been killed and equal number of persons injured. To appreciate how terrorism is slowly and steadily engulfing the Jammu region, just one week's events are narrated here: Second week of October, 1992: A bomb explosion in a bus near Jammu on October 7,--15 killed, 55 wounded October 8, : An act of sacrilege outside a temple, October 9, blast in a religious place; October 10, The microwave tower at Banihal badly damaged. October 11; Sunday--holiday for all; October 12; two blasts in Jammu and Bhadarwah, police post looted in Wadwan. October 13; Bomb blast in a religious place. October 14:



A powerful bomb exploded in a passenger bus parked in the General Bus Stand in Jammu city. There was no one in the bus but the bomb was so powerful that 13 people standing and working around were injured. The terrorism has commenced engulfing the entire Jammu region while the authorities are living in a make-believe world of their own. From April, 1993, situation has frightfully deteriorated. Now there are regular bomb blasts on the Jammu-srinagar national highway from Batote to Banihal. The target of assault are army, paramilitary forces and Border roads personnel. On 2nd May, '93, there was a bomb blast inside Jewel Cinema in Jammu city. Another bomb exploded at the same time in a bus at the General Bus Stand. One army jawan and a civilian were killed. Forty people were injured. Most of them were shifted in critical condition to hospital. From the hills of Doda district terrorists are moving into Jammu plains. In the first quarter of 1993, there were 41 killings, 5 kidnappings, 36 explosions and 98 grenade attacks. Property worth Rs 30 lakhs was looted. In fact, the terror has gripped the city, mainly due to bomb explosions, gang wars and notorious hafta system (weekly extortion) in bazars.

The turning out from the valley of the Hindu minority which has meant elimination of the Kashmiri Hindus from the socio-political scene of Kashmir valley is part of a global conspiracy to extend creation of fundamentalist Islamic States, crushing all dissent and ousting all other people. Commitment to creation of "Nizam-Mustafa", silencing dissent, elimination of minorities, presence of Afghan guerrillas and Pakistan's and Islamic countries' open involvement in Kashmir are ample proof of this. Indian State with liberalism and vague notions of secularism provides a breeding ground for fundamentalist forces to operate with impunity. The State-craft in India is too soft to prescribe any punitive measures for actions amounting to treason and against conspiracies blatantly anti-national. Such an attitude with soft treatment even for committing gruesome crimes has ruinous consequences. The guilty persons who were involved in kidnapping of the Home Minister's daughter, killing of Lassa Kaul, Station Director of Doordarshan Mashir-ul-Haq, Vice Chancellor and H.L.Khera, G.M., H.M.T. were all apprehended. All of them have been set free. Last year nearly 200 Kashmiries terrorists including prize catches like "Gen." Musa, Deputy Chief of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen were set free by the jail authorities in the State without the requisite consent of the police and



other investigating agencies. The Government finally woke up to discover that many of the jail staff of the high security prisons, which house about 3000 terrorists had been influenced by pro-Pakistan organisations. While the release had been ordered by court, the order also enjoined upon the releasing authority to ensure that those released had no other cases going against them. According to those who know, the Jamaat-i-Islami has flooded the Kashmir jails with pro-Pakistan literature.

The connivance of jail authorities with terrorists first came to light in March, 1990 when 12 hard core terrorists escaped. The then Governor, Shri Jagmohan sacked the jail staff and ordered an inquiry into the incident. But true to times the administration later on actually reinstated most of those who were sacked and inquiry remained incomplete.

*"Gunnahgaroon mein Shaamil hain gunnahoon say nahin wakif,  
 Saza ko jantey hain ham khatta kya hai Khuda jaaney".*



## Chapter 6

### Tears and Trauma

"Well, every one can master a grief but he that has it".

The nation has heard about the plight of Kashmiri Hindus. The Government through its electronic media and the country's print media has from the very beginning, popularised the term "migrant" for them. Word "refugee" is taboo for the Government because technically one cannot become a refugee in one's own country. But still Kashmiri Hindus have become refugees and are in this condition for the last three and a half years. In any case, they are displaced persons. The choice of getting displaced was forced on them by the Pakistan-led terrorists, who have imposed their writ in Kashmir Valley, taken an unending toll of innocent human lives, wrought death and destruction, bombed and blasted residential as well as public buildings not sparing even schools. Pandits as the Kashmiri Hindus are affectionately called for their erudition, did not want to leave their abode. They love their land, their Kashmir, every inch of its bounteous soil, which has nourished them all; They love every drop of its cool and clear water, every blade of its green grass. For them bidding farewell to the soil they have sprung from is too traumatic an experience to be conveyed in words. They wanted to continue to live in the land of their fore-fathers, in the warmth of their homes, among generations-old neighbours and friends. But tragically as if cruel fate had dealt them a fatal blow, their natural impulse to remain anchored to the land of their birth, even against overwhelming odds, was drowned in the devastating flood of secessionist violence. Alas, the flood rages on with no effective dikes and dams to see its fury abated. It lashes, unchecked, every hill and dale of the once serene Valley, its every district and region. It was heart-rending to bid farewell with mournful sighs, with the bitterest of tears each one of them shed in the silence of its majestic mountains, in the silence of their bruished hearts.

These refugees were forced to abandon their homes and hearths, their fields and orchards, their jobs and business enterprises. The armed terrorist killed many of their loved ones brutally in broad-day light



without any reason, without their ever having given them the slightest provocation. History is witness and the Muslims community will acknowledge that they have stood by them at all times of trials and tribulations and contributed their mite to the peace and well-being of their home-land. Yet the Muslim terrorists threatened them, their families, their children through posters and declared that no one was going to protect their lives and property. They stoned their houses, day in and day out, breaking window panes, hurling abuses and invectives. They forced many of them at gun point to join anti-national demonstrations, which they used as cover for firing at security personnel, inviting fire thus endangering their very lives. They yelled at them through loud speakers fitted in each mosques: "Death to infidels", "Kashmir will become Pakistan. Those who do not accept this will be pronounced traitors", "Death to Hindus", "the agents of India". How could those openly dubbed "agents of India" continue living in violence torn Kashmir when the State administration had withered away completely. No less tormenting than the emotional farewell was their actual departure, their trek to places of safe sanctuary. Their belongings gathered over long years of hard toil and labour fondly treasured, had to be left behind, right down to their warm clothing, blankets and items of daily use. Because packing them caught the every-watchful eye of the terrorists prowling around, gun in hand, his finger on the trigger. They would order the 'migrant' back into what was his home and may well turn out to be his grave. After they reached the places of safety, some of them learnt to their horror that the terrorist had printed the word 'X' on the exterior of their houses which in the lexicon of Kashmir's brood of terrorists cannotes, "This vacant house is ours". Many such houses were set ablaze. The choice before the "migrants" was painful; if they leave their houses to save their lives, the houses may not remain theirs and if they stayed on in their house, they may lose their very lives and consequently houses as well.

Driven out from their own homes, deprived of the warmth of their hearths, uprooted from land of their birth and history, tradition and culture, to whom were they, the refugees to turn? .... To any place in the State and outside which would ensure the security of life of husband and wife and their new born baby, of college-going boy and working girl, of aged father, and disabled mother, of farmer and office employee, of trader and businessman, of doctor and lawyer, of teacher and scholar, of all members of small Kashmir Pandit community, which from the dawn of history of Kashmir had been living there and had become inseparable



from its multi-dimentional multi-splendoured life. Departing from their land of birth was tragic. Sadder still is living for away from it in a tropical climate, in cramped rain-soaked tents in unhygienic conditions, without the barest of facilities.

Entirely unexpected and unbelievable scenes were witnessed in Jammu from the month of January, 1990 onwards. Hindus from Kashmir Valley continuously poured into the city by every available mode of transport. Bulk of them sought refuge in Jammu. Many went to Delhi. A number of families moved as far as Bangalore, Hyderabad, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Pune, Ahmedabad and almost to all major cities in north and central India. "A resident of Anantnag this man escaped to Jammu on the night of January 24, 1990". A retired school teacher, he had never travelled out of the Kashmir Valley. "The maximum I had journeyed was upto Srinagar," and distance of 50 kms. "I don't know whether I will be able to return to Kashmir again," a wistful silence ensues as his voices chokes, "I wouldn't have left but for them," regaining his voice the old man points at four women huddled in a corner of a small room. Two of them are daughters of marriageable age, another a pregnant daughter-in-law, and the fourth his wife. "Please don't print my name, my son is still there". What drove them to flee the Valley? "The nights of January 20, 21, 23 and 24," the Pandits exclaimed in unison and for emphasis they added, "We have never experienced anything like this before". Those four nights were veritable hell for Kashmiri Pandits. Most terrorist outfits operating in Kashmir had given a call for "liberation" of the Valley on January 26, 1990. Everyone was asked to assemble in mosques during the nights. This campaign began on the night of January 20, soon after the evening prayer was over. In the mosques, which were all fitted with microphones chant for jihad was raised by the people congregated inside. Some Kashmiri Hindus were also forced to join. Srinagar city reverbrated with shouts of "Nara-e-Takbeer", "Alla-O-Akbar" and occasional slogans that were meant to terrify the Hindus. "I had kept my car engine running through that night", says Mohan Lal, a dealer in electronic goods, "But next morning when I heard that some Hindus were forced into mosques and then made to join the procession, I fled". The Pandits' mood was summed up neatly by an old man who asked: "How would Imam Bukhari feel if he is dragged to at evening to a temple and made to shout "Har Har Mahadev" and the next morning forced to join a procession for a Hindu cause". (from Hindustan Times, New Delhi dated 15-4-90).

In Jammu, most of them stayed six to ten, cramped in a hired room. Gita Bhawan, near Parade Ground in Jammu city was offered as a transit



camp for the frightened refugees who mostly arrived late at night. People of Jammu rose to the occasion and with determination, courage, sympathy and largeheartedness provided soccur, relief and first-aid. Relief measures were immediately undertaken by the various social and religious organisations of the city. People were aghast and shocked on the very sight of the tragedy of the Hindu population whose fortunes had got trampled under the ugly feet of the Islamic barbarism. History repeated itself within four decades. In 1947, the entire districts of Mirpur and Poonch had been turned into graveyard for Hindus and Sikhs. The people of Jammu, under the dynamic leadership of veteran nationalist leader and one of the foremost patriots of the country, late revered Pandit Prem Nath Dogra, had left nothing undone to help the unfortunate victims of communal holocaust which preceded and followed the partition of the country. As in 1947, the dedicated workers of the Sangh Parivar, did not lag behind in the year 1990. These young workers proved to be the basic source of strength for the refugees, many of whom for years, had been fed with the false and theoretical notion of so-called "Kashmiriat", fabricated by power-hungry leaders, whose only purpose appeared to have been the fulfilment of their tryst with ambition. 'Kashmir Bhawan' at Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi became the second largest transit camp for refugees. Kashmiri's own associations and organisations everywhere made maximum efforts and did whatever was within their power to ensure that the miseries of the refugees were reduced to the minimum. The Kashmiris, whom destiny has pushed into the various parts of the globe for earning livelihood, plunged themselves head-long and provided substantial relief both in cash and kind for the uprooted Pandits from the Valley of Kashmir. The Indian Express Group of Newspapers set up a Trust and collected donations. The money thus collected was provided to young boys and girls to pursue their education. Again, the Sangh Parivar everywhere provided hope to these victims that they could survive.

As days passed by and months passed by, the task became stupendous. The regular killings of Hindus in the Valley and the most stupid act of recalling the Governor when he had just begun to succeed in having the writ of the Government run, made the exodus of Hindus a continuous affair till almost 99 per cent of them vacated the Valley. Jammu is a neglected city. Its development had never been undertaken with any seriousness or application of mind. Housing problem in the city is acute. The outlying colonies are just cluster of houses without any essential infra-structure. Traffic is heavy, roads are narrow, parking has never



been considered as a requirement. Basic needs of people like drinking water, underground sewerage and drainage systems are just nominal. Medical facilities have never been adequate. In this state of being, the city had to bear the stress and strain of two and half lakh refugees, thousands of affluent Muslims belonging to the elite and well-to-do class from the Kashmir Valley, who came to live in Jammu to enjoy good things of life, outside the terror-ridden Valley and, above all, various categories of political leaders, who had to be sheltered in Jammu for safety. All Government accommodation and good private buildings had to be provided to them. Many of these V.I.Ps. who are the future "political processors" when going gets good, have been provided comfortable accommodation in Delhi also to enable them to sabotage any good work that the security forces may be able to do. It may be noted here that accountability has never had any utility in this State. The political heavyweights have never been asked what did they do with the wealth already gulped by them in the past when they had the field day. They are now being cared for very well. Nothing much is made public what they are being provided and how much. All the ire and odium is reserved for refugees, again for the fault of being Hindu refugees. Their registration, dozens of photographs, attestations, affidavits, certificates, checking, rechecking, verification-confidential and physical, inspection, supervision, regular physical attendance, parading before anybody who is somebody and finally cancellation. All this because they had to be driven out for having the audacity to refuse to shout "Pakistan Zindabad" or "Indian dogs quit".

The exodus continued unabated. The Jammu city overflowed with men and women. A number of tented camps were set up by the Government in the outskirts of the city. Jammu weather as it is, people living in camps had to face and continue to face tremendous difficulties. Families consisting of five to seven members of all the age groups are huddled in a tent. Their meagre belongings, which are limited to very essential items only, are often seen exposed in the open sky. Intense heat, hot sun, dust storms, vigorous monsoon, torrential rain, bitter cold, blowing winds do not make any exception when they are in full fury. ON many occasions, tents simply blew off uprooting even the poles. In any set of circumstances, tents can serve the purpose of only a temporary shelter. But these refugees are living in these tents for the last three and half years. An Australian journalist, P.E.K. Wood visited Jammu in the first week of March, 1990. She has recorded as follows: "He walked into our room, wife and daughter trailing behind, exclaiming "Thank God we've managed to escape alive." His voice began to quaver, "I've left



everything behind. My job, my house my livelihood. God knows if I'll ever be able to return. All I can say is that I am thankful to have got my wife and daughters away safely and unscathed. You see, earlier they weren't allowing any Pandits to leave the Valley. Then they changed their minds and said we could go, on the one condition that we left our womenfolk behind. That's when I knew we had to escape. I couldn't guarantee their safety, "indicating the seated women," I couldn't bear the fear and uncertainty" And when as if he was talking aloud to himself he says, What will we do now? We haven't much money as the banks wouldn't honour our withdrawals. All we managed to bring with us was a suitcase of clothes, a few utensils and a stove. But thank God we still have our lives!'. This was but one of Kashmiri Pandit refugees I was to meet in Jammu, in early March. The city was literally bursting with the pathetic sight of so many families reduced to a suitcase existence. They arrived in droves every day, some with nothing but the clothes they were wearing. Most appeared as though they were in shock, not, really believing what had happened to them, others showed signs of relief and exhaustion. I asked a group of young people why they and their families had left the Valley, One replied, "You don't know what it was like, and I'll never be able to describe the tension we felt. Everybody the grapevine would report of another murder. Often a Pandit." Another continued, "Every night, from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. the loudspeakers in the mosques were tuned full volume. How long can anyone last without their sleep?"

But even with all trauma and turmoil, this community's spirit had not sagged. February/March of this year was an auspicious time for marriages and plans for these celebrations continued regardless. I asked one Panditani, who was busily arranging her daughter's wedding, why was she continuing with these plans when they themselves were facing such hardships? She answered: "They have taken away our houses, they have taken away our belongings, they have taken away our land. But, they can't take away our customs and traditions. It is the only thing we have, our traditions and our pride". She paused and sadly add, "The only thing that is keeping our Community going is our traditions. We have nothing to go back to now but I will still have my daughter married as arranged. Of course, we can't have traditional celebrations and feasts". My rounds continued. Finding a family that were fortunate enough to have found a room to rent, (since the refugees began to arrive, the rents have trebled). I asked the old man who was sharing the small space with his wife, their four children, and their children's families, when they had known it was time to leave, He replied, "This hasn't just happened all of a



sudden. For a long time we felt we were being driven from the Valley. Our women could never go shopping alone for fear of constant harassment and lewd comments being passed by men on the street." His wife added, "Whenever we would buy vegetables from the subziwallah we would have to pay twice as much." One son added. "If I went into a shop and asked for something the shopkeeper would either ignore me or take a long time in getting the goods. But if someone else walked in they would be served immediately and I was forgotten about." Another son added, "Finding a job was almost an impossibility. Often the criteria for a job was religion, and not the amount of experience you had or the level of education. You didn't have the right surname, your application wasn't even considered." There are people who normally leave the Valley in winter. The reply from one such family when asked of their future plans was, "I leave the Valley every winter and normally we would return by April. I can see the situation is very grave there and that it is impossible to return. But for some reason, I just can't get used to the idea that I'm not going home soon," he added mournfully. "I fought for the independence of this country. I've experienced 1947 and 1965. Was all that at the expense of so many lives, in vain?"

(From The Hindustan Times, New Delhi dated 15 April, 1990)

The anguished story of Hindu refugees from Kashmir who sought refuge in Delhi was described by the Indian Express (Sunday Magazine Section) of May 27, 1990:

"Our only fault is that we're Indians!" This is the bitter anguished cry of a community that has, almost overnight, lost everything. The only thing intact are their lives. Kashmiri Hindus who have fled their homes in the Valley and sought refuge in the Capital, today face a hard bleak future. Worst of all, they are tormented by the unbearable fact that nobody seems to care about what happens to them. Herded together in miserable 'camps' in Delhi running from pillar to post to extract even the most basic amenities like food and clothing, most Kashmiri migrants have reached dangerously close to breaking point. As soon as this reporter walked into the large, dusty, suffocatingly hot room in Lajpat Nagar which serves as a transit camp for almost 200 people, they crowded around, their despair and anger almost palpable. Everyone spoke all at once but few wanted to be identified. Fear is still a dark shadow they have to live with. And all the stories recount the same remorseless tragic sequence of events which compelled them to leave their property and all their worldly belongings, collected over a lifetime. Above all, it compelled them to



leave the place they had known as home throughout their lives. As a young doctor says feelingly, "It is as if a child has been separated from his mother". Added a school teacher who was working in Sopore, She had no option, she had to leave all that was dear to her and seek refuge in hot unfriendly city of Delhi. As she described the "atmosphere of terror" that was all pervaisve in the Valley, everyone sitting around nods their agreement. And soon they start speaking all at once, recounting their own experiences. Says a young man who was a bank employee, "On the night of January 19, 20 and onwards all the mosques simultaneously started blaring out slogans. Till four in the morning all we heard was slogans like Hindustani kutte wapas jao, "Kashmir mein rehna hai Allah Allah Kehna hai"; "Hus ke liya hai Pakistan lad ke lenge Hindustan." "Then we started getting threatening letters. I got a letter saying that I should leave my house as they (the militants) wanted to use it as a meeting place, they wanted to meet their Pakistani friends there". That night, he started walking from his house in Anantnag. "I walked 22 km and finally found a taxi which took me to Jammu. I could carry nothing with me". Most people escaped in the darkness of night, says the School teacher, "I left at night and all I could pack was a small cuitcase of clothes, and my children's school reports and qualification certificates. My neighbour begged to take her grown-up daughter, so I smuggled her out too". She adds hesitatingly, "Perhaps we could have faced the bullets. But we were scared of our honour. Because one of the slogans was that the menfolk must go, but they should leave behind their womenfolk. What doe this mean?" Apart from the slogans from the mosques, there were slogans emblazoned on posters which would appear all over the Vailey every day. The migrants describe these slogans. "One said that old people should leave, but not their daughters and daughters-in-law". They reveal. "Another said that people between 18 and 40 must join their (the militants) cause or be prepared to face the consequences. These are the kind of posters that we had to read". Kashmiri migrants in other camps too have the same chilling stories to narrate. Says a young housewife who lives in Srinagar and is now staying at the South Extension camp. "I came with my husband and children two months ago. Since late last year, the situation has been worsened. On Diwali someone threw a petrol bomb at our house. Luckily, we escaped. But we were scared. Things changed suddenly. The subziwallah stopped selling us vegetables. Schools were closed all the time. Daily there was stoning, firing, bomb blasts. We didn't know what was going to happen. We packed a few clothes and left at night in a friend's jeep. We went to Jammu and from there came to Delhi.



Says another housewife whose husband has a chemist shop in Srinagar. "The noise from the masjids was overpowering. The windows of our house were stoned and smashed. We never switched on the lights. Everyone seemed to be against us. The milkman, vegetable seller, they refused to give us anything. We couldn't wear bindis, we had to always cover our heads when we went out. Saris? There was no question at all of wearing saris". They left Srinagar a couples of months ago, at night, in a taxi. "We had to fix up with the taxi driver furtively, so that no one would come to know. We could carry nothing with us. Says an old man sadly, "If you go to our house in Srinagar today, you will find the beds made ready for someone to get in and sleep". None of the migrants have any idea to the fate of their houses or shops or offices. "For all we know they may have been destroyed or burnt, they say. Sadly, they are not even sure that their neighbours may look after their property, says a businessman who fled from Srinagar, "They told us frankly that they would be unable to come to our aid in case we were attacked. They too are scared. How can we expect them to protect our property?"

Most migrants have lived all their lives in the Valley. They admit that there has always been an anti-India sentiment to some extent. "But it was never so bad," says the school teacher from Sopore. "but yes, we always had to suppress our patriotic feelings. Independence Day would be a day of gloom. It was as if there was a blackout. In a cricket match, if our team won, we always had to swallow our joy. We could never give vent to our feelings. If Pakistan won, crackers would be burst. As you probably know, since about two years, there has been a ruling that the national enthem cannot be sung in Schools and other educaional institutions in the Valley. But the situation was never as bad as now. It became impossible to continue living there,". Tragically, the migrants seem to have escaped from one nightmare, only to plunge into another. They fled from violence and terror with the comforting belief that the rest of their country, their Government was there to help them. Bu they were to be cruelly disappointed. Says the young doctor bitterly. "The Government is totally unsympathetic to our plight. In April this year, we took a rally to the Prime Minister's house, to draw his attention to us. We were shouting Bharat Mata Ki jai and Bande Mataram. And how were we treated? We were lathi-charged and arrested. Is this the reward we are getting for being patriotic, for keeping the tricolour alive in the Valley?". His impassioned query seems to open a dam of pent up agony and rage. A middle aged man shows a lathi wound on his leg. Everyone begins speaking almost shouting, all at once. What has wounded the migrants the



most is not the lack of decent living conditions, the lack of money (though, of course, these are matters they are deeply upset about), but the indifferent and uncaring attitude of the government. Neither the Prime Minister, nor the Home Minister, nor the Minister for Kashmir Affairs has bothered to visit any of the camps, they say, adding that only recently did the Minister of State for Home Affairs visit two of the camps. Says a businessman who left Srinagar in March, "When there were riots in Bhagalpur, the Prime Minister said of the victims that "unko marham ki zarrorat hai" (we have to wipe away the blood with our tears). Where is the marham (healing balm) now?" (Indian Express report ends).

The subversion and terrorism in Kashmir is very adequately supported at interantional level. Within India also there are strong elements and groups who are sympathetic to Kashmiri separatists. To cover up the true communal fundamentalist character of the so-called freedom struggle of the terrorist and securing total ruination and annihilation of religious minority of Kashmir Hindus, virulent campaign of vilification and disinformation was launched against them. Several canards were spread and these canards took such deep roots that the general public-the masses failed to understand why Kashmiri Hindus had to flee their homes and hearths. Probably, they failed to appreciate that Kashmiri Hindus were a minority in the Muslim-majority Kashmir Valley of a Hindu-majority India. Law has been allowed to differentiate between the two types of minorities.

During the last phase of India's freedom struggle, Sir Winston Churchill was the powerful Prime Minister of Britain. He had vowed that he would not be the first Prime Minister of His Majesty's Government to become a party for liquidation of British Empire. Churchill was convinced that only the Hindus of India had launched the freedom struggle and setting aside sectional mundane and periphery objectives, had plunged themselves headlong into the struggle. Therefore, it was the cardinal principle of his India policy to denigrate and denounce the Hindus in season and out of season. He was able to keep up his vow because his party lost the power. India got independence when Clement Atlee was the Prime Minster of Britain. But even as leader of opposition, Churchill could not get rid of his anti-Hindu affliction. He continued criticising India and Hindus. When India supported people and King of Nepal in their hour of difficulty, he launched a tirate against our counthy. Sardar Patel administered a stern warning from his sick-bed in Dehradun cautioning Britain that India would be compelled to break its ties with the British Commonwealth and take appropriate retaliatory measures if Churchill



was not kept under leash. It had a salutary effect and Churchill kept quiet so long Sardar Patel was alive. After the demise of Sardar Patel, Churchill resumed his anti-Hindu tirade. The British Government felt embarrassed by his utterances. The Prime Minister, Clement Atlee angrily reprimanded him in the House of Common and charged him with suffering from Hindu phobia. "Your job appears to be to always find fault with Hindus," he told him. This had the desired effect. But who will reprimand habitual Hindu-baiters in India itself now?

India is a free country with freedom of speech and press as the most valued asset in our Constitution. But this freedom has its frontiers in the form of interests of country's sovereignty and integrity. No individual or group of individuals within the country can go against the integrity and sovereignty of the very country and its constitution which gives them this right. This is the national right judiciable only within the country. It is a shoot and not the root. The root is the country, the nation and its oneness. All rights and privileges flowing from our Constitution. It is a fact that generally the Press in India tends to pull its punches when Muslim issues are to be considered. This often reaches such absurd proportions that it hesitates even to call a Muslim a Muslim referring to them only as 'member of minority community'. Press hesitates even more when it comes to criticising anything that could be construed as criticism of a 'minority' religion. There is often healthy debate on Hindu religious issues. There is silence when it comes to anything Islamic for fear of ending up with the dreaded label "communal" pasted all over them. One is constrained to recall that there was virtual black-out in the Government and other media about the unprecedented exodus of a miniscule religious minority from Kashmir Valley. The political leaders and parties (except one "communal" party) who wear the masks appropriate to the time and circumstance and flaunt them sanctimoniously by espousing minority protectionism remained dumb. Is there a more vulnerable minority exposed to naked oppression and torture and abuse than the minority community of the Kashmir Valley? And what about the self-satisfied intellectuals and media persons, who look for the slightest chance to make fun out of facts and fetish out of superficialities, but who lose their voice and will and nerve if it is to stand up and be counted as crusaders of truth and justice?

All political leaders of Kashmir, who had amassed wealth for decades, publicly forsake their long-held ideologies and loyalties and unabashedly their hearths and homes to go into hiding in Jammu, outside the State and even abroad only to save their skin and kin. The blazing guns of secessionist fundamentalists, who continued to hold the Valley in a



horrified siege, frightened them. But they were not allowed to feel any pinch. They were provided Government houses at whatever place they wanted. They were paid fabulous sums to live comfortably, of course, without any record anywhere and provided "black cat" Commandos as security guards and in some cases bullet-proof belts and cars when they were flown to the Valley on "conducted" visits to hoodwink the country. A considerable number of even the majority community, who had the means and resources to come out to safety to escape the dishonour and destruction at the rapacious hands of the marauders, also came out of the Valley. Many rich businessmen had also to migrate to protect their bank balances. But none among the above people were blamed. The Kashmiri Hindus who had to flee to save their lives and honour particularly of their women-folk became the worst victims of slanderous and malicious campaign at the hands of terrorists and their apologists. The 'migrants' whom the Government and the media feel ashamed to call refugees or even displaced persons are not having a better life except, of course, that death doesn't stalk them every minute. These 'migrants' have been victims of very sinister propaganda onslaught by the terrorists, who proclaimed that the Hindus left on their own volition but also that their avowed objective was to get training in arms and then go back to the Valley to fight the "Muslims". This might make one laugh but this was not the laughing matter for the victims of their nefarious propaganda. The anti-Hindu and anti-security forces campaign was carried on by the press in Kashmir for reasons that are not difficult to comprehend. But some papers and many journals in the country went to town with "excesses" stories sensationalising these with the gusto that one expects of such papers. It is quite possible that in exercise of "the freedom of the press", the thought never crossed their mind to check the news items from other sources as well. They were also apparently in too great a hurry lest the rival journal might steal the thunder. They never bore in minds the well-known fact that the terrorists have made the security forces and the Hindu minority the target of not only bullets but also of a well thought out propaganda offensive. The result is that in the "proxy" war in Kashmir the security forces are subjected to both physical and psychological warfare which is an elementary tactic in a conflict of this nature.

A malicious and sinister campaign, very effective in its impact was launched against the hapless community of Kashmiri Hindus, who were forced out of their homes from all over the Valley by the terrorists. Most repugnant lies were spoken in contemporary history. Which epithet in the book of calumny was not thrown on this luckless community? In



broad-day light or darkness of night they were killed mercilessly - regardless of age, occupation or sex. With no one to turn for succor or security, they abandoned all that they had acquired over generations and took the only available escape route -- the road to Jammu, there to languish in make-shift tented camps. Some spread out to various other places. The left (over) pen-pushers and self-styled columnists masquerading as intellectuals, who are ever up in arms to uphold their freedom of expression stooped to shameless levels ridiculing the suffering minority. In Kashmir "migrants" were living in their own houses. Most of them had put all the savings and earnings into these dwellings. But the terrorists have reduced them to the misery of having to live in "camps" amidst dust, dirt and squalor, not to mention hot summer and snakes the two that a Kashmiri dreads the most. The slanderous anti-Kashmiri Pandit propaganda blitz took on different complexion from time to time. At one time it was stated that they left voluntarily, they committed a blunder by doing so and betrayed the Kashmiri cause, at other times it is said that migrants are prospering and doing roaring business in the new habitats. One may not blame the propagandists because, after all, they are working to a plan. But what of those who fell for this misrepresentation and indulged in gossip suggesting that the plight of the displaced persons was being exaggerated. Tons of abuses have been heaped on these most unfortunate people. They were bombed, blasted, burnt and sand-bagged, walked upon, held up, held down, flattered out and squeezed by unprecedented terrorism. As refugees, living in tents or rented dungeons, they are suspected, verified, inspected, examined, informed, required commanded and summoned by those who thrive on their misery.

As a matter of fact, a campaign against the migrants has been launched by agents of terrorists and pseudo-secularists. These elements have been meeting the Union Home Minister to fan the virus of casteism in Jammu. The H.R.D. Minister, Shri Arjun Singh is patronising his own group. His visit to Jammu was most disappointing for the minorities. It was anti-climax for the minorities of Kashmir in view of the fact that they had great hopes on a leader who is championing the interests of the minorities elsewhere in the country. Mr Rajesh Pilot has, of course, been building up his own sphere of influence in his own chosen way. The net result has been lack of proper political direction for the cadres of various political elements in the Jammu region. A campaign was launched in October, 1992, when a 'migrant' youth, Sunil Koul was killed in the premises of a school in Jammu. It was alleged that the deceased was carrying a bomb, which exploded in his hand resulting in his death and injuries to his



companion, Somesh Bhan. Linking this incident with the entire Kashmiri Pandit community the elements patronised by the erstwhile ruling groups, exploited the incident to oppose the 'migrants' stay in Jammu. Even physical attacks began and demonstrations were held. The Bharatiya Janata Party, a section of Congress(I) and others condemned these elements. The mature political elements in the city described the tirade against the migrants as part of a major sinister design to reduce the strength of nationalists in the state on the one hand and on the other, divide the patriotic elements to pave the way for success of secessionists. The forced return of the Hindus to the Kashmir Valley is bound to compel them to adopt Islam, which the fundamentalists in Kashmir have been long desiring and working for. Some elements in the Central Government and pro-Kashmir Valley bureaucrats in the State Government are alleged to be denying the people their legitimate requirements. This generates discontent among the youth and students. It has not been made public whether while allocating funds for the 8th Five-Year Plan and the Annual Plans, the reality of migration of three lakh people from the Kashmir Valley has been taken note of. In fact, development and plan funds should be allocated separately to the migrants out of their own share. Small industrial units and other job-oriented centres should have been opened near the migrants' camps as part of the State's plan implementation.

Some national newspapers also printed story after story running down the Kashmiri Hindus for moving away from the Valley and generally denigrated them for their past "sins"- the most unforgiveable of which was, of course, that they looked upon themselves as "Indians". There is no denying the fact that the national dailies have their own limitations which are due to many factors over which they may have no control. But even then, as time passed, the apathy was cast off to some extent. In its issue of April 22, 1991, the Hindustan Times says: "The plight of the Kashmiri migrants is miserable. They are not provided relief in time nor their other needs were being looked after. The Government seems to have developed vested interest in perpetuating a miserable life for the migrants..". In his books, "Kashmir Behind the Vale", Mr M.J.Akbar writes that Kashmir has been emptied of its Hindus by this awful violence and he calls it the saddest wound on Kashmiriat. In reality, the saddest wound on Kashmiriat was in the greatest betrayal of history when Kashmiri Hindus were kept ignorant of the preparations for Islamisation and secession of Kashmir going on in the length and breadth of the Valley almost in each Muslim house for years before the true face of militancy emerged in the year 1989-90 when murder and mayhem of the community



followed on a large scale which was meant to engineer its exodus. This was the way soft-spoken neighbours and friends were upholding 'Kashmiriat'. Kashmiriat has been wounded all right but there is every hope that the day may yet come when these wounds heal. But what of the wounds into which salt is being rubbed—the wounds of 'migrants' who were forced to leave everything in the Valley only to be told later that they chose to come away willingly. From the debris of their shattered lives all they have been able to salvage is a duree-space in some squalid camp in Jammu or Udhampur or Delhi. Still they are called names and all manner of outlandish motives are attributed to them as part of a disinformation crusade. Who will put out a programme on Doordarshan for them? Only the terrorists in jails in Jammu, getting all facilities, more daily allowance than a "migrant" gets, are "Sataye Huey Log" and deserve presentation by Kamleshwar. No secularist had the courage to persuade the terrorists to allow the telecast of "Bible ki Kahaniyan" in Kashmir. Against this, a serial, "insani Rishtoon ka saffar" has been telecast on Doordarshan. Thus, denigrating Kashmiri Hindus and painting them as rogues to malign them throughout India and no secular eye fluttered. We have to keep our fingers crossed what "Parakh" might have up its arms one sudden night. The 'migrants' are not 'human' enough or not at all, for the retired High Court judges, veteran journalists and distinguished retired civil and police servants to espouse their cause through their "Human Rights" organisations. Whether it was due to unprecedented disinformation or result of a deliberate act, The Organisation of Islamic countries gave a big slap to India. In a resolution passed in its Karachi Session from May 23 to May 27, 1993, it had audacity to say that Kashmiri resistance has never indulged in any action against non-Muslims in the disputed state.

Government anywhere has the principal charge of protecting the interests of the nation and its people. If it fails it cannot escape the blame and consequences of a betrayal. As the situation prevails today, the Government should discard its dithering and act boldly and courageously with the appropriate degree of responsibility. Any delay in moving resolutely can be perilous and spell doom. The Government is unable to bring to heel the small bands of various terrorist outfits. Mere talk of fine-tuning procedures will not help. These have to be applied to the designated targets. Loop-holes, which are very much visible, must be plugged at once. The forced exodus of the blameless Kashmiri Hindus and its unspeakable aftermath, is a shameful blot on the Indian Government and people responsible for bringing about this situation. It portends death to secularism and tearing to shreds the principles and ideology of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. The ray of hope which Mahatma



Gandhi saw in 1947 from Kashmir has disappeared. What would be the consequences if it doesn't re-appear, one shudders to think. It is now three and half years since Hindus from Kashmir have been in forced exile. The moment they crossed the Jawahar Tunnel, the label indicating "migrant" was tagged to them. They had heard of migratory birds who used to throng the Kashmir Valley in summer months and whose arrival heralded joy and happiness. They would have also come across this word in the Oxford dictionary. But they were unaware that the word may deeply penetrate into their actual life and become their future. The word 'migrant' appears to have proved catchy and convenient to these who have to deal with the various problems faced by these displaced persons. The Government machinery has come to believe that the use of word "migrant" absolves them of any responsibilities and whatever they are required to do is by way of social service. Instead of solving any problems of "migrants", these are being multiplied.

Out of the mass exodus, almost every section of the community, either employees or unemployed, traders or businessmen, men or women, young or old, urbanites or ruralites, all have to suffer. Employees could not be adjusted, traders/businessmen could not be compensated unemployed not provided with jobs and students not allowed to be admitted in the colleges and institutions. Women old as well as young unable to understand and coup up the hostile environment and language. Out of this, the student community became most affected, depressed and neglected section. They could not be admitted or enrolled anywhere immediately resulting in losing precious and energetic year of their career. After a hard struggle, the Government opened the camp colleges and institutions but that too without the bare necessities of laboratories and other equipments needed for studies. The results of such candidates, who had appeared in the examination prior to migration, under the aegis of the Kashmir university were deliberately declared after a long time with a purpose to put a brake to their future studies and not allowing them to enter into any colleges/universities or for undergoing training in Professional or Technical courses. The Kashmir University, with its Camp Office in Jammu, after a delay of two-three years, however, managed to start some courses of academic nature at post-graduation level but many important branches for which students had aptitude like Home Sciences were left out. The seats were also restricted to limited number. The recruitment of unemployed migrant educated youth is rather gloomy. There might be hardly few cases of appointment made with regard to them but that percentage might be equivalent to naught. The list of more than 200 Medical Assistants, by the Selection Board, Jammu made



public in the month of April, 1992 had left the unemployed trained migrant youth high and dry, as none out of their stock, though trained 4/5 years back, and well-deserving, were included. The Staff Selection Commission in its earlier special recruitment drive for the Muslim candidates in the Kashmir Valley again left the deserving and qualified "migrant" candidates in a state of helplessness. Whenever, posts are advertised by the Service Selection Board, 'migrant' candidates cannot apply against District/Divisional cadre posts of Kashmir Division because (God forbid) if selected, shall be deputed to Kashmir and become target of gun, grenade or rocket. Similarly, the chances of their applying for District/Divisional cadre posts of Jammu division are blocked they being "aliens".

One of the expressions used in the Chambers English dictionary for explaining the meaning of "migrant" is "nomadic persons from the same group, wandering from country to country or from place to place within the country". Thus, Kashmiri Hindus are nomadic tribes. On the nomadic basis, Gujjars and Bakarwals of the State have been rightly declared as scheduled tribes. They are better than Kashmiri Pandits inasmuch as Gujjars and Bakarwals do visit their homeland pastures whenever they desire. Kashmiri Hindus have been driven out from their own homeland permanently, which has been taken over by the renegades with the connivance of the quislings of our own country and open support of an enemy country. Kashmiri Hindus form one single caste and one single tribe and are persecuted for their religion, secularism, tolerance and national outlook. More than any other clan, the Kashmiri Hindus deserve the status of "Adivasis" or "Vanvasis" and they deserve the special treatment the most. An Israeli scholar of international repute, Mr. Issaq Shamoon, on the basis of his intensive research and studies in Jammu & Kashmir, has proved that Kashmiri Pandits need and rightly deserve the conferment of the status of Scheduled Tribe. He had come to this conclusion in July, 1989 on the basis of study of economic, social, political and geographical factors. After 1989, the condition of this distinct religious group has taken such a turn that the views of Mr. Issaq Shamoon have become irrefutable. To meet the realities of the situation, it is absolutely essential that a fixed quota of 10-15 per cent reservation in Government services should be kept for these displaced educated youth. This 10-15 per cent reservation should be transferred from their own reservation quota from Kashmir Valley, which are at present staffed by the candidates of the majority community in the shape of ad hoc appointments. Government should sympathetically consider the case of displaced persons for absorption in Government services by coming out



with a comprehensive, detailed and clear-cut policy in this regard. The economic as well as social conditions of these victims of genocide should be the basis for consideration for giving justice to them. Extraneous political and communal considerations should not be allowed to hinder the solution of a purely human problem. The displaced youth should not be forced to go to the streets and adopt agitational paths and thereby compelled to alienate themselves from the national mainstream.

Kashmiri Hindus, who have been in great distress away from their homes where they have to bear humiliation at the hands of land-lords (house-owners), soaring rent, short-notice eviction, goondaism in and outside "camp colleges", in offices and more than any other place at the "Relief counters". The back of the "migrant" has now been broken. He has already sold his last ring for his food, shelter and clothing. But not even a single Prime Minister of India bothered to visit their camps though three of them occupied that august office since "migration". Those who chant "secular" mantra day in and day out did not consider the Hindu refugees fit for sympathy. In July, 1991, when a delegation on behalf of Hindus met Shri P.V.Narsimha Rao, the Prime Minister to invite his attention to the most urgent problems confronting these unfortunate people, he was kind enough to appreciate and understand each and every point and assured the delegation that a special cell would be set up in the Home Ministry to tackle these problems and co-ordinate the efforts for their solution. When a year passed without any action, the same delegation met Shri S.B.Chavan, the Home Minister to remind him about the matter. He instantly announced that the Minister of State for Home Affairs, the Home Secretary and the Governor the State, all the three put together, would then onwards be considered to be the "Cell", as if they were not handling the matter already in their respective capacities. (Now even this has ceased to be the called "cell".) In this way, the Prime Minister's idea of a Cell was totally miscarried.

Three and half years of forced exile have disillusioned the Kashmiri Hindus and driven home a lesson or two to them. One of these is that India cannot protect them and none in India except the B.J.P. has any interest in or sympathy with them. Hardly anyone including Congress (I), various factions of Janta Dal, Communists of all hues and a score of regional parties sympathised with them. They have knocked the doors of every Party and all prominent leaders. Many leaders have felt concerned with the plight of these unfortunate people but have restricted their sympathy to words only at the time of conversation. A Punjabi saying is appropriate in their case :



"Panchoon ka Faisla sar-mathey par, parnala vaheen rahega". Some of these leaders appear to be hell bent to have Kashmir of a different ideology than the rest of the country. If the terrorists have punished the Kashmiri Hindus, so have the Congress (I), various Janta Dals, and Communists of all hues. The fault of the "migrants" is that they call themselves Indians, love India and are prepared to sacrifice everything for India. Whenever a Kashmiri Hindu filled any application from, to the very first question; Are you a citizen of India? He answered: "Yes, I am a citizen of India". While his ego of being an Indian has been smashed, now he is struggling for his very existence. Kashmiri Hindu has been brought up as an Indian. He was proud to be so. He used to clap for every 'sixer' hit by Shrikant, dance for every wicket captured by Kapil Dev, jump gleefully at the launching of 'AGNI' and boast with pride at India's greatness. He used to worship at the feet of Bharat Mata, his breath was Indian, his soul and spirit was Indian. He used to cherish the thought of India reaching the zenith of its glory. He had tremendous faith in the destiny of his beloved nation. Then one fine morning in the country called India, he and lakhs of others were plucked out of their garden 'Kashmir' and thrown into hostile terrain. They were shattered, they were shocked, they were hounded out and killed humbled and humiliated. The persecution had been going on for years but being true sons of the soil, they clung to their roots till their culture, religion, philosophy and life came under a direct fierce attack. Their belief in the greatness and strength of their country was tamed. They were all in a state of trauma. They were divested of their homes and hearths, honour and dignity on the very soil of India for which they had, from time to time sacrificed everything they possessed. The majority community in the place they were driven out from, did not believe in co-existence and the people who believed in co-existence are living in camps biting the dust of "Mera Bharat Mahan". Kashmiri Hindus are the victims of their fidelity, loyalty, steadfast patriotism and belief in secularism and the constitution. Pakistan's Intelligence Service, I.S.I. made it a priority to send a miniscule minority out of Kashmir because Kashmiri Hindus are the only sign of India in the Valley. India has illusion that Kashmir is its part. If it wants Kashmir back, it will be through Kashmiri Hindus because they are the civil presence of India in the Valley and have been there since the times the Vedas had surfaced.

Kashmiri Hindus were uprooted from the paradise and doled out alms in the shape of relief at places which had not only hostile weather but where even animals could not survive the deadly atmosphere. They were



laughed at, browbeaten and tortured mentally and psychologically. Their strength got sapped in gathering crumbs for survival. They are a miniscule community which may get extinct in a decade or two owing to apathy and indifference of Indian politicians. But will the future generations forgive those power brokers of India, who have contributed and abetted in their misery and plight. Should this great country be made to go down in the annals of history as a nation which sold its patriotic and nationalistic people to anti-national forces owing to treachery, criminality and corruption of Indian powers brokers. The desperation and distress of Kashmiri nationalists can be imagined rather than described. There is decay and degeneration writ large on the faces of this miniscule community. The Indian power brokers and chair-hangers no longer need the Kashmiri Hindus to fill the cup of appeasement. Politically they were sold in 1947; yet they nursed a vain hope that Government of India and its great people are theirs. How false it proved to be. The Community is dying unsung and unwept. It is now abandoned and alone. Between migration and death, Hindus of Kashmir chose the former so that they could survive the terrible times and may remain certain that they will gather together again, as had happened often in the past. But time is an important factor. While a trauma of short period can be overcome, a long spell of uncertainty can bring doom. If Pakistan-trained and sponsored religious fundamentalists can eliminate the entire community of peace-loving patriotic elements from the Valley who until the other day were leading a flourishing and settled life, who are subjected to all sort of indignities while in exile, whose little girls and boys loosened their inherent urge of ambling to school and enjoy the smell of their books and ink, who, roam the wretched open camps full of dust and filth and stink, who are exposed, to disease and all sorts of hitherto unknown and distasteful to any decent people. Who are denied ration and relief assistance for months together, who are subject to religious discrimination in distribution of paltry relief, employment, education and other humanitarian considerations by the authorities. Who having exhausted all its resources to please, to request, to cajole the authorities to agree to its basic needs can do nothing but look on in utter desperation. Whereas some politicians and the Government are out to please the terrorists in the Valley and would rush through any settlement by eliminating Kashmiri Hindu, a declared aim of religious fundamentalists - the misguided and desperate amongst these can out of frustration and desperation fall an easy prey to any sort of temptation. The psychological impact of the trauma has been devastating. The macabre they witnessed haunts them in an intrusive and distressing manner.



This tendency has resulted in social withdrawal, sleep disturbance, to become startled, irritability, lack of concentration and host of psychosomatic ailments like headaches, chest pain, stomach aches, fits, fainting spells, diarrhoea and so on.

The problems are at the community level, the family level and the individual level and can further be divided in the age, gender, level of education and so forth. It is an enormous task to identify each problem separately. Their assets have been looted and their houses have been reduced to ashes. While physical hardships are visible, mental agony is dormant. Therefore, it is of essence that their short-term and long-term problems are attend to with double quick. Immediate remedial steps need to be taken by the authorities to arrest the slide down by the displaced youth to desperate acts under frustration. What is needed now is to see how best to settle the community permanently so that it does not vanish, how to compensate for its losses in Kashmir and above all, how to safeguard the future of the younger generation which seems to be decaying before blossoming. What explains the great commotion in the Central Government that prompted it to spend millions of rupees in evacuating particular sections of Indians from Kuwait and other Arab countries and when conditions normalised helped them to return to their vocations. Why this enthusiastic and abnormally speedy approach displayed for a section of the people earlier is now lacking in handling the humanitarian issues of Kashmiri Hindus. This deliberate discrimination fully exposes the nakedness of those who are never tired of shouting about virtues of secularism and democracy. But history tells us that such people fall quickly and go deep down permanently. The naked truth stares the Hindus in the face when they think if they could return. The gun changed everything in the Valley. Most of the terrorist outfits were opposed to the Hindus' presence there. Can the Hindus rebuild their burnt houses? How can they reclaim their looted properties? How can they secure their usurped land and orchards, which have been declared by the terrorists to be under the control of Auqaf? How can they deal with gun-wielding neighbours or strangers with whom they had to do daily business? Suppose, their cow strays into the fields of the neighbour, could they hope that the cow would not be slaughtered along with the owner if he resists? How could they settle petty disputes arising out of sharing of waters, passage, fruit etc. when one side has used and tasted the power of gun and other side has lost former prestige? Many of them fear the very idea of returning. They ask: Were they going to be safe where they would not dare tread? Will they be free to move from village



to village, district to district as they did previously? What is the guarantee? Would their children be given the same friendly treatment in schools and colleges? Will they be adjusted in their posts which had been unconstitutionally filled on ad hoc basis? Will the present occupants of those posts not use the gun to ensure "clear" vacancies? Will they not face social boycott on petty matters and will they be spared if anything happens anywhere in the Muslim world and the wrath of the local people will not fall on the Hindus with more vehemence as they were subjected to on every occasion even earlier, and their houses and religious places not made targets? They doubt even the sincerity of the Government itself. They argue that the vacancies were left open for tens of year for SC/ST candidates but the legitimate posts of Kashmiri Hindus were filled in a hurry only to expose the administration's malicious intentions towards the community. Hesitating to allow Kashmiri displaced persons pay revision under SRO 75 of 1992 (IV Pay Commission) for long, they argue means that Government had "written off" the community.

The return of the native or aborigines of the Valley depends on many conditions, which may decide the future course of action. The Kashmiri Hindus may not take to gun, as some fear, because they still believe in inherent goodwill of the Muslim brotheren in the Valley. But one cannot predict anything for future.

Government of India has endorsed the religious cleansing of the Kashmir Valley by the Islamic fundamentalists. In violation of the constitution and their own oath of allegiance to the Constitution, the Central Minister openly discriminate between different sections of society on the basis of religion. Still they go scot-free. Nobody hauls them up in a court of law. How shocking it has been to observe Mufti Mohammad Sayeed when he was the Home Minister of India, in October, 1990, rushing to Handwara in the Kashmir Valley, with a bag of money to woo the sufferers of the gutted houses there and distribute the cash relief to them there on the spot and ordering for the rehabilitation of the victims of the fire but did not care or deem it his duty to visit the unfortunate sufferers of Sogam, only a few kms. away from Handwara where 42 houses belonging to the Hindu minority were burnt by terrorists or say a word in their sympathy not to speak of giving any cash relief to them as well or likewise visit such other places in the Valley and Srinagar proper, where minority houses had been reduced to ashes in hundreds. Likewise, a former M.P. and National Conference Leader himself camping in Delhi for the last three and half years, has been beating his chest all along and sitting on dharna against the action on the security personnel but has



not a word to say in sympathy of the minorities uprooted from their homeland and whose properties have been looted and houses set ablaze at regular intervals. Their house-hold goods like brass utensils articles of furniture etc. were sold by the Muslims hawkers in Friday bazaars at Hazratbal and Iqbal Park. Many such articles were taken to Delhi and sold at lucrative prices on the pavements of Sadar Bazar there. A high profile Minister of State, Mr. Pilot flew to Srinagar on 11th April, 1992 to host an Id party in Srinagar. On the occasion of Shivaratri, the most important day for Kashmiri Hindus, the displaced Hindus living in camps in Jammu had no sugar for a cup of tea. Did anybody care? Human hearts have become bereft of compassion and consideration in respect of Hindus of Kashmir. The Central Government has been remiss in enforcing a modicum of honesty in its conduct in regard to migrants. It has been making considerable noises while doing precious little to help realise this. The house of one Mirza Ghulam Mohammed at Srinagar collapsed accidentally. Mr. Rajesh Pilot again on a special visit to Srinagar, directed the Kashmir Government to provide Government accommodation to Mr. Mirza. He did not consider any Hindu of Kashmir Valley living in Jammu in torn tent to be accommodated in a Government dwelling. Just after the annual move of the Government to the summer capital, Srinagar, ten thousand room are vacant. These could have been utilised by a really secular Government for the old and ailing patients and extremely hard cases among migrants, who often perish in the tents due to heat and snake-bites.

The Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan disclosed in the Rajya Sabha on March 1, 1993 that a separate zone for Kashmiri Hindus would be demarcated in the Valley, if necessary, so that they would be fully protected. Kashmiri Pandits are most ancient human species of the world, historically of great importance and enlightened people from the ages, which is getting extinct from its land of origin gradually due to the discrimination and suppressions since 1947 and now are completely uprooted. The Government of India is taking much pains and interests in preserving some of the animal species like lions, elephants, Hangul etc. and has established sanctuaries for their preservation. Mr. Chavan's statements indicates that the Indian Government will probably make a well-protected sanctuary for preserving this precious historical human species, on the slopes of some hills in the Kashmir Valley, where these species can live in caves as in the remote past. This will attract the tourists world over in large numbers to see this most ancient human species. The tourists will take pity and interest in these people and feed voluntarily by



throwing food articles to them inside the caves. This project can fetch valuable foreign exchange and enable the Government to be at ease to continue its partisan and appeasing attitudes without any headache or hindrance. The reality is that the Government will never rehabilitate the 'migrants' as their policies are guided by populist and electoral strategies and rehabilitation of refugees would tantamount to accepting defeat by the Government which it would never do. Ignoring ground realities, history and playing these down by stating that the Hindus in the past have many times withstood such onslaughts and risen again like the mythological phoenix from the dust, would only create false sense of security and illusions both of which, in the past have done maximum harm to the Kashmiri Hindus. Wishful thinking that restoration of normalcy and return of migrants to the Valley would rehabilitate them is a mirage which vanishes when approached, as the terrorists in a planned way are ransacking and burning the houses of migrants thus making it impossible for them to live there if they return. Restoration of normalcy at best is a lull before another storm. That is the only lesson which history teaches us. The happenings in 1986 was the rehearsal of the real battle in Kashmir. The sessionists then wanted to see the response of the rest of India. There was no response to the outrage of February, 1986. And the present tragedy is the result. When viewed against this background, the immediate financial rehabilitation of "migrants" is the only remedy. With this first aid, all the Kashmiri Hindus about seven lakhs, have to pursue their demand which has been proclaimed by the community in the form of "Margdarshan, 1991", at Jammu on 27/28, December, 1991. Mr. V.M. Tarkunde, Mr. Rajinder Sachar and some others visited the Kashmir Valley during the last week of May, 1993. After return, conveying the directive of the Fundamentalists secessionists, Mr. Rajinder Sachar wrote in the Indian Express of June 7, 1993 :... "These migrants are desirous to go back to the Valley, and yet the realities are that under the present conditions that is not possible. A frank query from a knowledgeable person in the valley evoked an answer that the migrants' return can coincide with the solution of the Kashmir problem and at present it was not practicable for them to return. The policy planning of the Central Government must be based on this reality at the ground level."

With the whole community in exile, they are unaware what happened to their places of worship. The terrorists raped and then sliced the women by saws, or killed by inserting burning cigarettes into the body, inserted nails at the forehead where 'tilak' is applied, left half dead persons with broken legs and arms to be finished by vultures or burning



humans or cows alive. If those inhumans could do this to the living, what would they have done to the inanimate objects of worship? The carnage was directed at that time almost exclusively at the Kashmiri Pandits to Shatter them completely and drive them out of Kashmir as a pre-requisite to secession. It would thus be only a naive or incorrigibly biased or those who may be benefited somehow who would think or believe or say that the places of worship are unharmed. Since the Valley is inaccible due to terrorism, it is impossible to pinpoint the damages wrought since Hindus were forced out of the Valley. Almost all the temples barring a few important ones may be permanently lost to the Hindus as even the Shrines Bill maintaining status-quo as on 15th August, 1947, is not applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Hindu nation, in fact all the Hindus wherever they are in the world, have one of the most sacred shrines located in Kashmir. The 'darbar' of Mother Ragya Bhagwati, Kheer Bhawani at Tulmulla, 25 kms. from Srinagar is a shrine where one breathes peace of mind, smells tranquility and feels the presence of Almighty. It is a pilgrimage of bliss, where the inner thoughts get purified, where the darkest minds get enlightenment, where the mundane distinctions of class, creed or caste evaporate to nothingness. When Swamy Vivekanand came to Kheer Bhawani to seek the divine blessings and spiritual bliss, Kashmiri Hindus sat at his feet. Those who saw him in front of Milk Goddess felt his aura, his hallo, his divinity and his benediction. He could re-kindle the flame and give a glow to one's life. Tears welled in the eyes of the Brahmans and they started to relate the atrocities inflicted by Muslims on their ancestors. Tears fell down from the cheeks of the great Swamy with compassion. Swamiji heard and seldom talked. He looked at the Brahmans as also at the Goddess. He later wrote he saw Goddess face to face for the first time. Kashmir had the distinction to become the place of his realisation of the supreme. Though every inch of Kashmir is sacred to nearly one billion Hindu population of the world, yet Kheer Bhawani has a special sanctity and place. What Lord Buddha achieved at Sarnath and Prophet Mohammed at Mount Hira, was achieved by Swami Vivekanand at Kheer Bhawani (Tulmulla) – enlightenment of bliss from Divine.

In the annuls of Kashmir and the whole world of true believers, April 7, 1991, would have remained the darkest day but for the intervention of Mother Merciful. That day the terrorists flung a rocket in the direction of the holiest of holy shrines of Mother Ragniya -- Kheer Bhawani (at Tulmulla), which was, however, set at naught by divine deflection to the great relief of the devotees. It was a rocket targeted at



the very soul of humanity and especially of the Kashmiris, Muslims as much as Hindus. A single 'Darshan' of the Deity -- ensconced in the serene temple emerging out of the glorious pond of Amrit that changes its colours and hues -- emancipate the mind and frees it of concept and ego, greed and cares and worries and fear. It elevates the soul of the pilgrim and, indeed, of any visitor and fills it with love, grace, humility and compassion and takes it to the very threshold of the ultimate truth and light. It is this spring of source of universal beneficence and divine power that the terrorists had set to destroy. Their sin is indescribable. Suffice it to say that they have fallen so low that even the meanest beasts and the savagest beings of all times look civilised and thoughtful. If they be of Kashmiri blood, which no Kashmiri would like to believe, then their own kith and kin would have hung their heads in shame and excruciating pain, praying for Allah's forgiveness and wished they were not born in these terrible times. That is incidentally the core of the traditional concept of Kashmiriat. That precisely was also the feeling of Kashmiri Pandits when the Holy Relic disappeared temporarily from Hazaratbal mosque. The Hindus of Kashmir had then felt as mortified and paralysed as had Muslims themselves. And they went out in sack cloth and ashes to mourn the loss and pray for the early retrieval with the same wounded emotions as of the Muslims. The State Government of the day collapsed. The Central Government shook and the late Lal Bahadur Shastri rushed into the freezing cold in borrowed clothes, having forgotten to put on his own, in that nerve-shattering confusion. The entire Government held its breath till the relic was restored to its sanctum. Jawahar Lal Nehru suffered a stroke from which he never recovered and passed away within five months of the happening.

*"Bashar raaz-i-dill kah kar  
zaleel-o-khwaar hota hai,  
nikal jati hai khushboo jab,  
gul bekaar hota hai"*



## Chapter - 7

### Political Treachery

"Fears and fancies will come and go, but  
follies of wise haunt the nation indefinitely"

In July, 1984, twelve M.L. As. broke away from the National Conference Legislature Party headed by the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah. They elected G.M.Shah, the elder son-in-law of Sheikh Abdullah as their new leader. Shah had earlier broken away from the National Conference and formed a new breakaway party named Awami National Conference. On getting Congress (I) support from outside, G.M.Shah became the Chief Minister of the State. Although subsequently some more legislators deserted Farooq and joined the Shah Group, the G.M.Shah Government was solely existing because of Congress (I) support. It was the same type of Government as was formed by Mr. Chandra Shekhar at the centre in November, 1990, after he broke away from the Janta Dal. After the sad assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi on 31st October, 1984, her son Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister. Rajiv Gandhi reiterated that Congress (I) support would continue to be offered to G.M.Shah. He said this was necessary to strengthen the secular and nationalist forces in Jammu and Kashmir. He also accused Farooq Abdullah and his National Conference of hobnobbing with anti-national forces. However, G.M. Shah Government had to resign when Congress (I) withdrew its support to it in early March, 1986. Governor's rule was promulgated in the State. Shri Jagmohan, who was the Governor, handled his job very well. He streamlined the administration and geared it to increase the tempo of development, which had been badly neglected due to internecine succession war which had gripped the Sheikh family. The Governor's rule was proving very helpful and beneficial to the people and there was perfect calm and peace. However, within six months, Farooq mended his fences with Rajiv Gandhi. A Minister of State in the Rajiv Gandhi Government, Mr. Rajesh Pilot had been working behind the scene to bring the two together. Mr. Rajesh pilot had stopped his forays into Assam where he had created a mess and caused the near liquidation of the Congress (I) After Assam debacle, he had



turned his attention to Jammu and Kashmir. Shri Rajesh Pilot was able to improve upon his record in Kashmir. While in Assam, Congress has got defeated in elections only, but in Kashmir, not only has the Congress been liquidated but Congress leaders have had to run away from the Valley to save their skin and kin. It appears there is no provision for accountability and fixing of responsibility in the Congress Party and the Government. Same Mr. Rajesh Pilot has been made in-charge of Kashmir affairs, again after the reshuffle of the Central Cabinet in early 1993. Be that as it may, the accord mania, which had gripped Rajiv regime, produced another accord-- Rajiv - Farooq Accord. Unlike earlier accords, this accord was an unwritten one. The sum-total of this accord, which was the result of intense lobbying by Shri Rajesh Pilot, was the emergence of the formula about sharing of power, on regular basis, between the National Conference the Congress (I) in Jammu and Kashmir. The ratio of 60:40 was agreed upon by the two parties. In more clear terms, Kashmir Valley was handed over to Farooq and Jammu was retained by the Congress in the context of Muslim and Hindu population respectively. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had come to Jammu in the first week of November, 1986 where this accord was announced. Farooq and Rajiv came over Doordarshan. Farooq said that he was a Muslim and as a true faithful he would implement the accord. Continuing he added Rajiv ji is a Hindu... He had not completed the sentence when Rajiv Gandhi pounced upon him and shouted "No, No, I am not Hindu, I am not Hindu". Probably, Farooq wanted; to say that he hoped as a true Hindu Rajiv would also implement the accord. But Rajiv was so much enraged on being called a Hindu that their T.V. exposure was brought to an end. Rajiv was right. He was not a Hindu. He was a Parsi by birth and after his marriage, was reported to have been baptised as a Catholic Christian. The misunderstanding about Rajiv being a Hindu was perhaps created by his putting on the sacred thread around his neck and beneath the right arm on the occasion of Indira Gandhi's cremation. Probably, this was largely responsible for the massive majority which he got in the elections which were held immediately after Smt. Indira Gandhi's cremation. The accord had thus a shaky start. But its strong link, as Farooq Abdullah later himself put it, was that their two families had come closer to each other. Farooq Abdullah is also married to a foreign lady.

The Rajiv-Farooq Accord was accompanied by the typical Rajiv panacea of "economic package", which promised new development plans for the State costing more than rupees one thousand crores. People of the State were deliberately made to 'misunderstand' that some extraordi-



nary bounty had been offered to them. The innocent people did not realise that none had dared to accuse both Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah of knowing anything about economics and that too high public finance matters. The so-called package was nothing but aggregate financial outlay for Dul-Hasti and Uri Hydro-electric projects, work on both of which had already commenced much before the new package was announced. The expenditure to be incurred on the construction of Jammu-Udhampur Railway line was also included in this one thousand crores. This expenditure had already been capitalised upon by Mrs Indira Gandhi herself to get votes for the Congress (I) in the Jammu region in the elections held in 1983. She had also laid the foundation-stone of the Dul-Hasti project in March, 1983 itself. A small provision was made in the "package" for a "survey" for the new railway line from Qazigund to Srinagar and beyond. But the middle level Congress and N.C. leaders made the unsuspecting masses to believe that a railway line would be constructed which would be an economic boon to the Valley. All this jugglery later on boomeranged on both the parties. When people saw nothing out of this one thousand crore package, their disillusionment was natural. So the propaganda was launched that the Centre had betrayed the State. Even Farooq Abdullah, when faced with discontent among the people both in Kashmir Valley and in Jammu, also complained publicly of betrayal by the Centre. Farooq was well aware of the reality but to shift responsibility, he repeated the charge again and again. This was the practice with late Sheikh Abdullah also. Whenever faced with people's discontent he made the Centre as whipping boy.

To celebrate the re-union, Farooq Abdullah invited Rajiv Gandhi to visit the Kashmir Valley to enjoy the snow-fall. Rajiv arrived in Srinagar in December and the two played the snow sports in the open streets in the city. They turned amuck and put unbearable strain and burden on the police and para-military forces, which were deployed for their security. The people got disappointed and were wondering over this childish behaviour of two - the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Minister of the State. They were heard passing uncharitable remarks against the two. One was called "Shakeel Daand" (Pretty bull) and other "Jersy Daand" (Jersy bull). With an eye on cheap applause and as a rhetoric, Rajiv Gandhi while addressing a workers' meeting, ridiculed the State Government for shifting its Secretariat to Jammu in Winter. "jab yehaan baraff padti hai to aapki Sarkar Jammu mein hoti hai". Farooq got the cue and stopped the annual shift of the Secretariat to Jammu in October, 1987. This created total isolation and tremendous resentment in the Jammu region.



The entire region was plunged into terrible turmoil. Government became shaky. Rajiv Gandhi and his Home Minister passed the buck to Farooq. Consequently, Farooq was compelled to change his decision. But the whole episode created many psychological problems and disenchantment among the people in both the regions.

One of the major fall-out of Rajiv-Farooq accord was removal, of Mufti Mohammed Sayeed from the State politics. Mufti had assiduously built the Congress organisation in Jammu and Kashmir especially in the Kashmir Valley. He was not only the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee but was also its body and soul in the Valley. He had remained with Smt. Indira Gandhi through thick and thin. He had arranged her tours into the interior and remote villages and towns of the Valley. He had energised the Congress workers who had become bold to face the bullying tactics of both Sheikh and his son. It goes to the credit of Mufti that when the National Conference mainly relied on Muslim communalism, he projected Congress as standing for socialism and democracy. Mufti had been hoping that he would sometime or the other get the opportunity to head either a purely Congress Government or a Congress-led coalition Government. Rajiv-Farooq accord dashed his hopes to the ground. Rajiv shifted Mufti to Delhi and made him a Cabinet Minister in his Government. but Mufti felt convinced that ground beneath him having been taken away, he could be kicked out any moment. He was sore at the fact that the Congress had liquidated from the Valley which had now been handed over back to the dynasty. This was also the feeling of most of grass-root workers of the Party. Since the deal had been struck between Rajiv and Farooq, no other Central Congress leader dared even to listen to the woes of Congressmen of the Valley. The result was that the disgruntled Congress leaders including Mufti himself, even as a Cabinet Minister in the Central Government, began to patronize Muslim fundamentalists if only to create problems for Farooq Government. Farooq Abdullah's disco-dancing, chest-beating, fist clinching, balloon gliding etc. only added to people's frustration. At this point of time the State Government acquired three helicopters. One of these was exclusively used by the Chief Minister as a quick vehicle for carrying on his dramatics. The Cabinet was so large that nobody bothered to know who was who. The muslim fundamentalists found the situation and environment quite fertile. They all came together and formed the Muslim United Front. The Front made Islam and secession its main plank.

Elections to the State Assembly were held in March, 1987. In 1983, Congress and National Conference had fought each other on communal



lines. Congress had played with Hindu sentiments in Jammu and The National Conference with the Muslim sentiments in Kashmir. In 1987, elections, the two entered into an alliance and formally divided the State on communal lines. Congress was given predominance in Jammu and National Conference retained its supremacy in the Kashmir Valley. Similarly, Ladakh and Kargil districts were assigned to the two parties again on communal lines. This time there was no mutual mud-slinging. Both the parties reaped the harvest of rigging of elections jointly. The Congress in Jammu region and the National Conference in the Kashmir Valley. So all was calm and quiet. Farooq Abdullah rested on his laurels as there was no danger from Central Government or the Congress Party. The State began to be treated as a 'jagir'. Administration remained only in name. People were left to fend for themselves. No wonder, corruption which had already become a way of life in the State, touched the highest possible peaks even the sky not being the limit. Central Agencies, organisation and departments were no exception. All became interested to dip in the plenty. In the whole scenario, the commonman was just ignored. The subversive elements, who were already on the move, found the administration as a complimentary factor rather than something to be feared of.

In the General Elections to the Lok Sabha of November, 1989, Congress lost the power at the Centre. Rajiv Gandhi became the leader of Opposition. It was a personal shock for Rajiv. From an Indian Airlines Pilot, he had straightaway become the Prime Minister of India. Rubaiya's abduction came handy to him. This helped him to add fuel to the fire in Kashmir simply to malign the new National Front Government. He rightly criticised the handling of Rubaiyya episode by the Government, but persuaded rather forced the Chandra Shekhar Government, which was existing only on account of his support, to adopt the same course when Nahida Imtiaz was abducted. He criticised the conduct of the High Court judge whose help had been sought for rescuing Rubaiyya. When reminded that the concerned judge had been appointed in his regime, he revealed that he had been persuaded by them PCC President, Mufti Sayeed to appoint the particular person as judge of the High court. He thus exposed himself how his Government had been making such important appointments to cater to the whims of Congress (I) leaders.

The new government appointed Jagmohan as the new Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. He had earlier completed his full five-year term as Governor of the same State in July, 1989. When he had relinquished his post, wholesome praise had been showered upon him by both Congress and National Conference leaders. Jagmohan had been awarded



National Awards, "Padam Shri" and "Padam Bhushan" during Indira Gandhi's Government. His administrative acumen was appreciated even by his detractors. During Emergency period he was Vice Chairman of Delhi Development Authority. All sorts of allegations were made against him. He was made scapegoat for all wrong-doings of Congress leaders. But he was the one dignitary who resolutely and conclusively got himself honourably cleared from the Shah Commission. And to take cases to the logical conclusion, he launched prosecutions under due process of law, against his accusers. His accusers were awarded punishments from the courts. But the vested interests, who had opposed him, took up their well-known weapon which has become quite handy to denigrate anyone. One of his chief detractors was Imam of Jama Masjid, Delhi, who accused him of being anti-Muslim. This accusation is more than enough in our country to condemn a person. During his earlier five-year term as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, he had become darling of the people in all the regions of the State. People from Kashmir Valley had high hopes from him. The development, which had taken place during his short regime, was there for everybody to see. He had made the administration to work for the welfare of the people. Rajiv Gandhi's fear was that Jagmohan was sure to improve matters in Kashmir and this would get good name to the new National Front Government. This was exactly what he did not want. Rajiv wanted to use Kashmir trouble as an effective instrument to bring down the Government. As soon as the announcement about the new Governor's appointment was made, Rajiv Gandhi showed signs of desperation. He met President Venkataraman twice that day. He held day-long confabulations with his partymen at his residence. He summoned Farooq Abdullah from Jammu and advised him to resign at once and provided him a chartered plane for his immediate return. He called Jagmohan as "hero of Turkman Gate". (Referring to clearance of slums there during emergency in 1976). Rajiv conveniently forgot that whatever slum clearance work was undertaken in Delhi during Emergency period was under the personal direction of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the real "Hero" was his younger brother late Sanjay Gandhi.

The fact that the new Governor had been successful in partially reversing the situation in the Valley and the terrorists' nefarious plan fixed for 26th January, 1990 had been set at naught, had not been appreciated by Rajiv Gandhi. Playing upon the weaknesses of V.P. Singh Government and of leftists who were supporting the Government, he forcefully played the Muslim card and began making statements and writing letters to the Prime Minister appealing to Muslim sentiments. This



alerted Imam of Jama Masjid, Abdullah Bukhari. Rajiv Gandhi telephoned Mr Jyoti Basu, the West Bengal Chief Minister and Communist (Marxist) party supremo, at dead of night and appealed to him in the name of 'secularism' to help in removing the Governor Mr Jagmohan. Jyoti Basu later revealed that during five-years of his Prime Ministership, Rajiv had never spoken to him in this way and at this odd hour. Agents provocateur and amiable media persons were planted in Kashmir. No stone was left unturned to make it well night impossible for the Governor to function. I.B. personnel working in Kashmir Valley were the special target of terrorists. Many officers were murdered. Rajiv Gandhi publicly stated that the Home Minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed had close links with terrorists and it was he who was providing them the names and identity of the I.B. officers and men.

Rajiv Gandhi took a leaf from recent Indian history when his younger brother, Sanjay Gandhi had succeeded not only in bringing down the Janata Government in 1979 but also in breaking the Janata Party into pieces. Raj Narain was a staunch follower of Dr Ram Manohar Lohia. Lohia had launched life-long crusade against the 'dynastic' democracy of India. He had accused Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in the Lok Sabha that the expenditure per day on his domestic dog was seventeen times more than the average income of an Indian per day. Raj Narain had stood by Lohia through thick and thin. Sanjay Gandhi realised that the criminal cases against him could not be wiped out and the only way appeared to overthrow the Government itself. He accused the Jana Sangha an important component of the Janta Party and the Janata Government of being communal and in plain words being anti-Muslim. He lured Raj Narain to believe that the Janata Party and Government were encouraging communalism on account of participation of Jana Sangh in it. Raj Narain took a vow not to take rest till the Janata Government and Party was broken up. Both Sanjay Gandhi and his mother Indira Gandhi assured Raj Narain that their only remaining ambition was to see that communalism was eradicated from the country and they could think of only him (Raj Narain) who had the capacity, guts and courage to accomplish this historic task. Raj Narain did accomplish the task and the dynasty returned to power triumphantly. Most disenchanted person was Raj Narain himself who later died of heart attack. By then he had been abandoned even by his life-long colleagues. The socialist Party vanished from the scene. The Jana Sangh was named as Bhartiya Janata party and it was only with the support of this party that veteran socialists, Madhu Dandavate and George Fernandes were able to become Ministers sec-



and time in their lives. Rajiv Gandhi also picked up another Lohia follower, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav for breaking up the National Front Government and the Janata Dal. The same means were adopted as had been used by his brother earlier. He called Jagmohan a pro-BJP man and hence anti-Muslim. Mulayam Singh also never rested till he was able to bring Congress (Indira) back to power at centre. Fake interviews were got published in some journals. Rajiv Gandhi stampeded the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh into arranging a hurried and haphazard visit of an All Party delegation to Srinagar even without providing essential opportunity to the State Government to receive the delegation. At the eleventh hour, Mr Devi Lal the Deputy Prime Minister was persuaded to join the delegation, whose star member was Rajiv Gandhi himself. His sole aim appeared to be to create some embarrassment for the Government. Throughout the visit, which lasted for one day and one night, his only purpose appeared to be to provoke Mr Devi Lal to create some rustic scenes. He repeatedly raised the issue of protocol in respect of Devi Lal. However, the latter called his bluff and refused to be provoked and thus bringing disappointment to Rajiv Gandhi. Rajiv Gandhi lost interest in the visit and forced the delegation to return to Delhi post-haste after cancelling all its programmes. What was Rajiv's own record of adhering to protocol? He had been most discourteous to the President of India, Giani Zail Singh. When he was asked by media persons as to why he had broken well-established conventions regarding President-Prime Minister relationship, he quipped back arrogantly: "I have broken one hundred other conventions". President Zail Singh had felt so much humiliated by Rajiv's impropriety and discourtesy that he once very seriously contemplated his dismissal from the Prime Ministership.

During the same period, across the border in Pakistan, most virulent and sinister hate India campaign was in its full fury. Disinformation campaign about Kashmir was at its peak. Pakistan Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi appeared to be working in tandem with each other. Benazir Bhutto had taken a vow to see Jagmohan removed. She had said so on Pak TV on several occasions. Rajiv Gandhi's speeches, statements and interviews were used by Pakistan to defame and downgrade India everywhere in the world. In an interview to BBC, Rajiv Gandhi made baseless allegations against the Indian army. His condemnation of Governor's rule in Kashmir was mostly through foreign media. His only activity during the whole period consisted of firing lethal salvos against the Governor and one liner epithets on the National Front Government. Jagmohan was removed towards the end of May, 1990.



Thus he was allowed to function hardly for three and a half months. Within a few months the National Front Government itself fell and Janata Dal was cut to pieces as per plans of Rajiv Gandhi and Mulayam Singh Yadav. Thus history had repeated itself in just ten years.

After the fall of V.P.Singh Government, Mr Chandra Shekhar, as leader of 56-Members of breakaway Janata Dal group with the support of Congress(I) from outside, became the Prime Minister. Mr Chandra Shekhar tried to make some good from the worst, but Rajiv Gandhi was very keen that the Government should not only be a puppet one, but should wholly and openly appear to be so. This new scenario of Rajiv Gandhi calling the shots without sharing any responsibility created chaos in Kashmir. On his direction, the new Government gave Mr Saifuddin Soz much importance in the Kashmir affairs. Soz began to interfere in the functioning of Governor's administration. Crores of rupees were again sunk into the Valley to provide doles. All these crores became available to the terrorists. When Mufti Sayeed had become the Home Minister of India, he was considered to be a VVIP and hence as an act of black-mail, his daughter was abducted to get the dreaded terrorists released. Now they considered Soz very powerful VVIP. So the terrorists thought of another black-mailing act to achieve release of another batch of dreaded terrorists. They abducted Soz's daughter. This was enough to set Jhelum on fire. Rajiv Gandhi became berserk. He directed the Chandra Shekhar Government, the State Government and all concerned to 'accept' all the demands of the terrorists and rescue Soz's daughter at any cost. Even good offices of Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif were sought and obtained. The terrorists ate the cake and had it too. They had the last laugh. Since then abduction got institutionalised in the Valley. Terrorists began to be released as a matter of routine in exchange of hostages. It is very difficult to keep count of the terrorists released under this system. It has proved a boon for Government employees also. Whenever an officer wants to be away from his place of duty for some private business, he simply gets it known that he had been abducted. As pre-arranged, some terrorist outfit takes responsibility. When he feels like joining duty, he presents himself at a police station or a newspaper office to say that he had been freed. He gives a long certificate to the concerned terrorist group for having treated him very well during his "confinement". He, of course, gets full pay from his office.

When the Gulf war between Iraq and U.S. led Multi-national forces broke out, Mr Rajiv Gandhi thought it fit occasion to impress upon the world that though not in power, he continued to be the tallest leader in



India and he alone could interpret India's foreign policy. He issued statements that India was not playing the role as a non-aligned country in regard to the Gulf war. He tried to impress upon the country-men that had he himself been at the helm, India would have played a decisive role through non-aligned movement. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement at that time, Yugoslavia was itself in the Oxygen tent and ultimately collapsed as a country in no time. As a matter of fact, Rajiv Gandhi got apprehensive that Chandra Shekhar as a person might, after all, emerge as a better alternative to Nehru-Feroz Gandhi dynasty. Short of withdrawing support from his Government formally, which did not suit him and his party at that point of time, he put every hurdle in the way of smooth governance of the country. With his straightforward and non-elitist approach to major issues facing the country, Chandra Shekhar was, no doubt, making a place in the hearts of the common people. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to withdraw support from the Government to make it fall at a time of his choosing and in the meantime keep the Government under leash.

During the Gulf war, American planes flying from their base in Philippines to the war zone and back, had to draw fuel from Indian airports. On this issue, Rajiv Gandhi created a big controversy. Without caring how his interperate and provocative statements would affect India's vital national interests, he condemned, as a matter of duty, every day, not only this fueling of the aircrafts but every action of America and its allies. Leftists had to join him due to their inherited ailment. Rajiv called the refueling facility as anti-Iraq, which at that time meant anti-Muslim. None remembered at that time that Kuwait' was also a Muslim country. Rajiv's rhetoric was enough to galvanise, Mr.V.P.Singh to wail lest Rajiv might steal the Muslim thunder. But he conveniently forgot that it was his Government which had voted for all the Security Council resolutions under which U.S. and its Allies were fighting the Gulf war. When even Saddam Hussain became agreeable to withdraw from Kuwai, Mr V.P.Singh warned the world that Kuwait would not be vacated by Iraq until the Palestine problem was settled.

But then who is V.P.Singh? An ex-Congress(Indira) man who was a notable sycophant of Nehru-Feroz Gandhi dynasty, who supported the emergency and, in fact, was in the Council of Minsiters handling Commerce, who blindly lauded Rajiv till he was expelled from the Congress, who initiated new hights of collaborations with I.M.F. who picked up the anti-corruption card only to discard it cynically, after coming to power, now presumes to sit upon judgement on the rest to assess their bonafides



and commitment to the cause of the oppressed and the under-privileged castes. He prevented Arif Mohammed Khan, who sacrificed his Cabinet post and political career by opposing Muslim fundamentalists in Shah Bano case, from participating in his election campaign and preferred Shahabuddin to appease the Muslims. Seldom has history exhibited such brazen discrepancy between word and deed. Mr. V.P. Singh along with his very important colleagues in his party, i.e. Mr. Chandrajeet Yadav, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed and many others were important functionaries of ruthless Emergency regime of Indira Gandhi from 1975 to 1977. This was the time when Mrs Indira Gandhi secured the most abnoxious and uncivil judgement from her committed and frightened judiciary, the judgement which wiped out even the right to live. The Chief Justice, A.N. Ray, who had been picked up for the post after ignoring three judges senior to him, said in his judgement: "Liberty is itself the gift of the law and may by the law be forfeited or abridged". Not only V.P. Singh and his many present colleagues but the Communists of all hues welcomed Indira Gandhi's "brave" and "courageous" actions. The C.P.I. leaders acted as band boys of Emergency regime. CPI even sponsored a Conference in Patna, which they called anti-fascist Convention. In this Convention, Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narain, Shri Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal (who later headed the Mandal Commission) Lok Bandhu Karpoori Thakur, Shri Chandra Shekhar and others, who had been imprisoned, were called traitors, imperialists, CIA agents and what not. B.P. Mandal and Karpoori Thakur were markedly maligned by Chandrajeet Yadav, Kidar Nath Singh (Congress (I) dissident) and CPI leaders. Jaiprakash Narain and Chodhuri Charan Singh were named as fascist followers of Hitler. Justice J.M.L. Sinha of the Allahabad High Court, who had given the judgement against Mrs. Gandhi, was called a C.I.A. agent.

As Rajiv Gandhi's fulminations continued unabated, Chandra Shekhar Government was forced to stop the facility of fueling to the Americans. American President and his administration took this in a calm and befitting manner. But anti-India lobby there got a fine opportunity to leash India on the issues of their own choosing. Many American Congressmen, media men and others picked up the Kashmir issue, Punjab situation and human rights issue in season and out of season simply to take revenge. Dan Burton of Indiana, who was till then more or less alone, was able to gather a good number of India-baiters. Was it wrong to give refueling facilities to American planes? Definitely not. According to international conventions, "Five freedoms of the Air" were enunciated at the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago of which the first two,



(1) to fly across foreign territory without landing, and (2) to land for non-traffic purpose (e.g. repairs, refueling) had the support of the majority of the States. Under international air law, the right of innocent passage is given to all airlines to make flight into or in-transit non-stop, across the territory of a State and to make stops for non-traffic purposes without obtaining prior permission. With regard to navigation the draft convention of 1980 drafted by United Nation Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) deals with rights and duties of foreign ships and aircraft during transit passage. Ships and aircraft can proceed without delay through and over a State so as not to threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of the State. Although the Indian Maritime Act of 1976 proclaims a 12-mile territorial sea, a further 12-mile E.E.Z. (Exclusive Economic Zone), it is stated that innocent passage should not be prejudicial to the peace, good order or the security of India. India was not a party to the Gulf war so all these peace time Conventions were applicable and U.S. non-combatant planes could be given all transit facilities. This consideration could apply to all the countries who need such facilities.

Even granting that the planes carried food, medical supplies etc. for a War Zone, under the Geneva Convention of 1949, vehicles and medical aircrafts engaged in the evacuation of the sick and wounded or the transport of medical personnel and material cannot be denied transit facilities. Forgetting political overtones, refuelling facility is a normal commercial activity. by which more valuable foreign exchanged is got through sale of aviation fuel. Refuelling of military aircraft is an age-old practice. In 1954, four B-29 aircraft of U.S. Air Force were refuelled at Palam Airport. Apart from refuelling between flight inspections were also carried out by Air Force duty crews. There used to be a regular M. A. T. (Military Air Transport) Service from West to East and back. The aircraft halted at Palam Airport. All facilities-receiving, parking and refuelling - were given to them by the Indian Air Force. The most surprising statement was that Jawaharlal Nehru's precepts had been negated by allowing the U.S. military transport planes to refuel in India. During the war with China in 1962, on the pathetic appeal from Pt. Nehru, U.S. Air Force Hercules transport aircraft manned by American airmen rushed small arms and woollen clothing from Kanpur and other Ordnance Depots to the North-East. The soldiers of the Indian Army helped to unload the stores from the giant planes at Bagdogra airfield.

When Iraq President, Saddam Hussain annexed Kuwait, he announced jihad against his opponents. Whenever he appeared on T.V.,



the slogan 'Allah-o-Akbar' was conspicuous on the screen. He also gave a call to Islamic world to rally round him. This was enough for the Muslims of India to be pro-Saddam. Rajiv Gandhi's as well as V.P.Singh's rhetorics were actually directed towards Muslim sentiments. Rajiv Gandhi, Mr V.P.Singh and their Muslim supporters forgot that Iran and Kuwait were also Islamic countries and Iraqi ruler had little compunctions in invading the one and annihilating the other. Saddam Hussain restored the Palestinian question to the top of the agenda-only as an after-thought when the world refused to accept his annexation of Kuwait, United States did not stage the Gulf war. Saddam Hussain had left the world with little choice. And those who start wars cannot later lament their horror. To have expected Multi-national forces to liberate Kuwait without hurting Iraq was to make amlettes without breaking eggs. In similar analogy, Indian security forces cannot terminate terrorism without hurting the harbourers of the terrorists. Saddam fired scud missiles on civilians in Israel, feeding ecologically damaging oil slicks into the Gulf. He threatened to employ chemical, biological or nuclear weapons. He has split the blood of his own people and put his country 20 years back to satisfy his megalomania. This is the same policy which Pakistan is following against India in Kashmir. Failure to exchange ambassadorial representation with Israel had incapacitated India's West Asian diplomacy and was not justified on any principle or on the basis of self-interest. The notion that this might have angered the Arab-Islamic world was self-blackmail.

At the height of the Gulf war, Rajiv Gandhi decided to steal the limelight and project his personality as well as to appease "Muslim India", which he was keen to snatch away from V.P.Singh. He decided to visit Bagdad, meet Saddam and turn the focus of world media to himself. At Delhi (IGI) Airport, he was given hysterical send off by hundreds of his party workers, who vociferously shouted the slogan:

*"Dunia bhar mein do hee nam  
Rajiv Gandhi aur Saddam".*

Rajiv went to Moscow to meet Gorbachev, who had fully supported the U.S. action. Poor Gorbachev was himself on the run. He could not understand what to do with Rajiv. After entertaining him to the best of his ability at personal level at that point of time, he pushed him to Tehran. By that time, Saddam's defeat was imminent and Multi-national Forces' total victory was only the matter of time. Rajiv was taken aback and from Tehran he then reached Dubai. Here some Sheikh friend provided him



with a private plane to return to Delhi. By then the U.S. had won the war and George Bush was man of the match. When Rajiv Gandhi, on return landed at Delhi (IGI) Airport, he was received by hundreds of his party workers and greeted with the slogan:

*"Dunia bhar main do hee khush,  
Rajiv ji aur George Bush".*

In the meantime, Shri V.P.Singh also did not sit idle. With his bespectacled eyes fixed on the dark glasses of his adviser, issued warning after warning that Kuwait would not be vacated unless Palestine issue was sorted out with Israel. Whether anybody read his statements or not, he faithfully performed his duty to please his pontif. He issued similar statement on the visit of Israeli Dy. P.M. and Foreign Minister to India in May, 1993.

Professor Galbraith once spoke in New York "Indians believe in transmigration of soul. Now their ambition after death is to end up in New York! That is the real relationship". This is fully applicable to those who have been dominating India's bureaucratic professional and political affairs. Despite their anti-imperialist rhetoric, Indians with political, bureaucratic and other connections explore every avenue to migrate to the U.S. Every influential parent in or outside the administration, pull strings to get their wards admitted to American universities. Once there, they pursue one course or other until, of course, they qualify for the green card. Then and only then they return home to pick up a bride to finally settle in the "New world". This truly is the ambition of upper strata political elite. After having achieved their aim, these "politicians" and "eminent civil servants" and "liberal intellectuals" sermonise the people about the virtues of non-alignment and anti-imperialist and anti-colonial policies laid down by Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru had based India's foreign policy on negative diplomacy combining great expectations with brave declarations. He and his successors made India rejoice too long in the semantics of conference diplomacy. Economic Order shaped after scores of meetings came to nothing. India looked to Saddam as a David out to humiliate Goliath and did not understand the Soviet Union better and thus stood marginalised in the Gulf. Diplomacy to serve national needs was abandoned. Our foreign policy was influenced by personal likes of leaders and existing craze of the times. Socialism, which was identified with former European colonisers. Word "imperialism" was on the lips of Indian Communist parties, which had mushroomed under various fac-



tional leaders. Ultimately it turned out that it was the Soviet Union which had played havoc with smaller neighbouring countries under its imperialistic canopy. India took recourse to domestic populism and diplomacy was not positive but accusatory. In fact, the trio, Nehru, Indira and Rajiv played havoc with our international relations with their highly personalised style of diplomacy. It is not difficult to become "the world leader". One has only to sacrifice his own country's interests. The present Kashmir crisis is due to this foolish policy.

The Congress (I) on whose support Chandra Shekhar Government had been formed and was continuing was behaving in a very ridiculous way. They adopted the tactic of walking out from the two Houses almost as a regular practice. The party members began to be absent on crucial occasions when even budgetary business was to be discussed and voted. Even boycott of the Lok Sabha was resorted to, Government was kept on tenterhooks and simply guessing when the congress party would do what? Situation became intolerable for the Government. Chandra Shekhar resigned. He was asked to continue till fresh elections were held and new Government took over. The spectre of elections made Rajiv Gandhi to bend his knees to catch the Muslim eye. He held marathon meetings with groups of students from Aligarh Muslim University. As an election strategy, he criticised the U.S. policy on Iraq and Palestine. Ever since independence it has been misfortune of this country that criticising U.S. and calling it imperialist has been a political fashion and craze. No issue is judged on its own merits whenever U.S. actions are involved. Although we were supposed to be non-aligned, yet our Nehruites and leftists considered it their bounden duty to criticise the United States. No wonder, the U.S. administration, the media and opinion-makers and think tanks there have also, as a matter of retaliation, been pin-pricking us at every available opportunity. The left parties are still living in the cold-war era, even though their front organisations like Peace Councils, Afro-Asian organisations, Friendship Associations, Solidarity Fronts and all sorts of other "progressive" fora have been more or less made to disappear. But even then Nehruites and leftists suffer from so called "non-alignment" affliction. The cardinal principle of foreign policy is "there are no permanent friends nor permanent enemies but only permanent interests". China and Russia have befriended U.S.A. China, for whose sake we annoyed America in the crucial years of fifties, has herself now sought "most-favoured nation" status from the U.S. and has obtained the same in spite of the fact that China is a giant nuclear power. In foreign policy, national interest and security must be para-



mount. Foreign policy should not be sterile and stagnant. We cannot have same friends and same enemies for 45 years. Where is the non-alignment when Soviet Union has broken and `Russia has shown the Towel.

In Europe, the countries, which did not fall into Marxist-Leninism formed their own group called Socialist International. They too drew inspiration from Marx just as Nehru in India experimented with his own Nehruvian Marxism. Socialists say they believe in `social democracy'. This phrase appears to be pleonasm, for if the democracy is not socialist, what else can it be? Since Bismarch in Germany adopted State ownership, a certain spurious socialism has made its appearance, according to which all taking-over by the State, even the Bismarchian kind, is in itself socialistic. If, however, taking over of the tobacco trade by the State was socialistic, Napoleon and Matternick would rank among the founders of socialism. Socialists differed with Nehru because the latter invented his own terminology "socialistic pattern of society" while the socialists wanted "socialist society". In the process "society" was neglected by both. Same has been the fate of democracy. Military dictator of Pakistan, Ayub Khan had called his brand as "basic democracy", while his predecessor, General Iskander Mirza had given his product the label of "controlled democracy". President Soekarno of Indonesia named his experiment as "guided democracy". Communist countries have been calling their Governments as "People's democracy" as if there could be something like "King's democracy" as well. Then came the golden phase in the "dynastic democracy" of India when during Emergency in the Seventies it was called "disciplined democracy". But what has come to occupy the central place in our country as permanent fixture is "secular Democracy". After independence and partition, majority of the people of India were sidelined and the field was taken over by the Nehruvian West-oriented elite. This elite comprised nearly all those who stayed on this "secular" side of the political divide whether politicians, Panchayat Pramukhs, bureaucrats, academicians, journalists, industrialists, and above all the entire Muslim elite who had stayed back in India even after they had worked for the creation of new Muslim homeland. These Muslim leaders were better placed and many of them came from families connected with erstwhile ruling classes in one way or the other. Some of them continued to be under the illusion that some day or the other Muslims will again be the masters of Hindustan because according to them Hindus are a divided lot and cowards. They passed on this impression to the poor illiterate Muslim masses and reminded them of their glorious past when they were rulers and Hindus were like herds of cattle under them They could not find any



other weapon except "secularism" as practised by the Indian National Congress. Congress Party also came forward in a big way. Immediately after partition, Bombay and U.P. were chosen as test cases. In the year 1949, the Ayodhya issue came handy to the Congress/ It got the shrine locked. And the appeasement policy began to operate in a big way. This immediately paid the party rich dividends. In the 1952 first General Elections of the country, Pandit Nehru's 'secular' guards led by K.D. Malaviya and Govind Sahai created communal hell in U.P. No other party could even smell of this 'secular' treachery.

What was the result? The veteran freedom fighter and socialist partiarch, Acharya Narendra Dev failed even to become a Member of the U.P. Legislative Assembly in this first General Election of free India. He had contested the election for U.P. Vidhan Sabha from Faizabad Assembly constituency. He had not even the remotest idea that the Congress Party led by Nehru will exploit religious issues in the elections in such a naked way. In fact, the Muslim League politics was revived in the entire Faizabad district. Gandhiji's trusted man, freedom movement's stalwart, Acharya J.B. Kripalani had also contested from Faizabad Parliamentary constituency for the Lok Sabha. He too was defeated. In the entire Faizabad district Acharya Kripalani had his personal influence in every village and town, through the sprawling organisation of Shri Gandhi Ashram which had one of its greatest production centres in Akbarpur. But the onslaught of revived Muslim League politics adopted in full by the Congress was so fierce that he also, like Acharya Narendra Dev, failed to win the election. Another stormy citadel of Muslim League politics had been the city of Bombay. Here also the Congress took over the reins of Muslim League politics. What was the result? Veteran socialist and trade union leader, Ashoka Mehta was defeated. Other top leaders, who could not withstand the Muslim onslaught as unleashed by the Congress, were veteran Trade Union leader, S.A. Dange and messiah of the poor and father of Indian Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. One of the allegations levelled in the election meetings of the Congress against Dr. Ambedkar was that he had somewhere said that Jinnah was only a "statutory" Muslim who did not follow Islamic tenets.

After these humiliating defeats, socialists never came to their own. Ashoka Mehta, Chandra Shekhar, Narain Dutt Tiwari, sanat Mehta and many other prominent leaders joined the dynastic bandwagon. Jaiprakash Narain renounced active party politics and joined the Bhoodan Movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia refused to contest any election unless at least one percent voters in his



proposed constituency were primary members of his Socialist Party. This condition was never fulfilled. He only contested once against Pandit Nehru in Phulpur (Allahabad). There he put a challenge to Nehru that he would defeat him if the latter, as the Prime Minister of India, ensured that five thousand Government contractors of Allahabad districts did not take part in the Congress election campaign. He promised to retire from politics if he could not fulfil his word. But since Nehru did not accept the challenge, Dr. Lohia lost all interest and for all practical purpose remained aloof from any election campaign. He was ultimately persuaded to contest a bye election to the Lok Sabha from Farukhabad in U.P., where he won with the Jana Sangh support. In due course, Dr. Lohia came closer to the Jana Sangh Leader Deen Dayal Upadhyay and the result was coming together of socialists and the Jana Sangh in an informal way and humiliating defeat for the Congress, which lost power in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in 1967 General Elections. It functioned in the Centre on a minority vote. There were definite signs of emergence of truly nationalist force in the country. But the fate willed otherwise. Shri Deen Dayal Upadhyay was murdered in a running train and Dr. Lohia suddenly died allegedly due to negligence in the Treatment at Willingdon Hospital, New Delhi. The two tragedies occurred in the span of a few months. Later on, Shri Jaiprakash Narain picked up the thread and brought socialists and the Jana Sangh together in 1977. The result was utter defeat of Congress, which failed to get a single seat in entire North India. Indira Gandhi herself was defeated. Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narain publically appreciated the role of the R.S.S. and expatiated for his past uniformed criticism. Addressing an R.S.S. rally in Patna on November 3, 1977, he said : "R.S.S. is a revolutionary organisation. No other organisation in the country comes anywhere near it. It alone has the capacity to transform society, and casteism and wipe the tears from the eyes of the poor". But alas! J.P. passed away in October, 1978. So the work remained unfinished. But strong forces were working to wean away the socialists and throw them in wilderness and disarray. How pitiable it is that veteran socialists have been reduced to such a position that they had to accept the leadership of an opportunist like V.P. Singh who was alleged to have sought the help of Haji Mastan to win a seat in the Lok Sabha. Congress and communists have always been striving hard to prevent Hindus and Muslims from coming together. It is very unfortunate that socialists have fallen a prey to these machinations very easily. In his book "My eleven Years with Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed", Janab Fazle Ahmed Rahamny has recorded: "During the Emergency



period (June, 1975 to December, 1976) some followers of Jamaat-e-Islami found themselves in the same jail as the members of the R.S.S.; here they began to discover that the latter were no monsters as described by the 'nationalist' and 'secularist' and interested Maulvis. Some Moulvis belonging to the Jamiat-ul-Ulemai-Hind met President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and reported to him about the growing rapport between the members of the two communities. This "stunned" the President and he said that this boded an "ominous future for Congress Muslim leaders" and he promised that "he would speak to Indira ji about this dangerous development and ensure that "Muslims remain Muslims". While Rajiv Gandhi himself was wooing U.P. socialist leader, Mulayam Singh Yadav, he appears to have engaged important and clever people to politically neutralise George Fernandes. Dr. Farooq Abdullah has proved to be clever manipulator in this regard.

George Fernandes is a senior Janta Dal (Bomai) leader. He has been a legendary crusader for rights of the working class. The first "bandh" in the country was organised by him in Bombay in mid-sixties. Infact, word "bandh", which is Marathi word, was first of all used by him. In mid-Seventies, prior to Emergency and during the Emergency when the communists functioned as band boys of Indira Gandhi, George exposed Indira's hypocrisy very effectively. Indira Gandhi pretended to be the friend of landless and the farm workers. It was George Fernandes who sent his workers to the farm owned by Indira Gandhi at Chhatterpur near Mehrauli in Delhi. The workers met Badri Prasad the farm worker, who was working on this royal farm. He related his pathetic story of exploitation and revealed that he was being paid a paltry sum of Rs. 80/- per month as wages and had to work almost round the clock under most unfavourable conditions. Next day, when the story appeared in the Press, Rajiv Gandhi rushed to the farm and reportedly gave a good thrashing to Badri Prasad for his temerity to give vent to his mental turmoil. George was never forgiven for this. During Emergency, with tremendous high-handedness, he was tortured both inside and outside the prison beyond imagination. In 1977, General Elections, George Fernandes was elected to the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur (Bihar) with a thumping majority while he himself was still in prison. On the formation of the Janta Party Government, he became the Minister for Communications and later Minister for Industry. He had good reputation as a Minister and made every effort to release the economy of the country from the strangle-hold of multi-nationals. He succeeded in eliminating the Coca Cola Company from the country. When Congress and Communist con-



spiracy succeeded, many Janta Party stalwarts, in violation of the oath taken by them at the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, for sheer short-term ambition, broke away from the party. George Fernandes also did not cover himself with glory. It was a graceless episode in India's polity. The swiftness with which Ministers and members switched sides and loyalties left one breathless. George Fernandes whose defence of Desai Government in the Lok Sabha was simply eloquent, abandoned his party even before the cock crowed once and joined the seemingly prosperous combination.

As a Minister in the Janta Dal Government from December, 1989, he wholly disappointed his admirers. It was his handling of Kashmir affairs, which he was given as additional charge, which sullied his reputation as a straightforward political leader. As a Minister in the V.P. Singh Cabinet, he was party to the decision to surrender to terrorism in regard to Rubaiya Affair. How ridiculous and unethical it was when he strongly criticised the decision after the fall of the Government and when he had ceased to be a Minister. In an interview to "India Today" magazine of August, 1991, he called the release of terrorists in exchange of Rubaiya a foolish and anti-national act. Dealing with the appointment of Mr. Jagmohan as the Governor of J & K, Fernandes wrote in the magazine "Seminar", New Delhi, April 1992 "How and why Jagmohan came to be re-appointed as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir is a story that must be told by those who made this appointment. But some unsavoury facts and bitter truths must be told here. I was a Member of a Cabinet Committee, which was set up to consider, among other matters, who should be appointed as Governor of J. & K. consequent upon the resignation of General Krishna Rao. In five or six meetings of the Committee, a few names came up for consideration. Jagmohan was not one of them.

"One day, a much-agitated Farooq Abdullah sought an urgent meeting with me and told me that he had heard that Jagmohan was being appointed the Governor of J.& K. and if that happened he would immediately resign from Chief Ministership. I assured him that this information was baseless and that he should not unnecessarily get upset. At the next meeting of the Cabinet Committee, I sounded out my colleagues to discover if anyone had proposed Jagmohan's name or if it was even remotely under consideration and got emphatically negative replies. Two days later, Farooq made another frantic call. This time he was absolutely certain that Jagmohan was being made the Governor and said that while he wanted to believe me when I repeated that he would not, it was no longer possible in view of the information which had reached him from



unimpeachable sources ... Then he stunned me with the statement that Jagmohan's appointment was only twenty-four hours away. The next morning I met the Prime Minister and asked him if he had Jagmohan in mind for appointment as Governor of J. & K. since in the Cabinet Committee his name had not come up for consideration. When his reply was an emphatic "no", I told him of my dilemma; the two meetings with Farooq Abdullah and what he had told me. My dilemma, I said was that I did not want anyone - Farooq Abdullah included - to blackmail my government into doing or not doing anything ... I received no indication that Farooq's information about Jagmohan was correct. I left Delhi for the North-East later that day. Jagmohan's appointment as Governor was announced that night by the Home Ministry". Whether the above statement of Fernandes is true or untrue, either way he stands condemned. If his standing in the highest level of Government - the Cabinet -- was as indicated by him, he had no moral right to continue in the Government. Even now he has accepted the leadership of same persons in his party, who did not trust him in Government. After all, when Jagmohan was appointed, George did not raise a finger. George Fernandes, who was Minister of Railway, was asked by the Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh to look after Kashmir Affairs as an additional charge. Unfortunately, George did not appreciate the scope of this additional charge. Since insurgency had just been stepped up, there was need for some co-ordination at the central level, to ensure smooth and quick handling of cases coming up from the State Government or being referred to the State Government by the various Ministries of the Central Government. It was on the pattern of appointment of Minister for West Bengal Affairs in early Seventies when that State was under severe strain due to Naxalite menace. Governor at the State level and the Home Ministry at the Central level were fully and wholly responsible and accountable for ruling the State politically and administratively. But George Fernandes took up his additional assignment quite the other way. He made it a habit to visit Srinagar without any intimation to the Governor or his advisors. He is alleged to have interfered in day-to-day administration, ordering release of detainees, re-instating suspended employees, granting permission to hold meetings and take out processions while Section 144 was in operation. He made it a point to address and give orders to bureaucrats over the head of the Governor and his advisors. In the same article in the magazine, "Seminar", Mr. Fernandes adds: "As for Jagmohan, he acted as I expected he would. When during a meeting in Srinagar's Raj Bhawan, I suggested that speedy measures be taken to work out a scheme to



market the apples and in the process help the apple-growers, he had the nerve to tell me that all the owners of the orchards were Muslims; that all Muslims were terrorists; and that these orchards were used as hide-outs and training camps for the insurgents. He would not make one paise from Government coffers available to the apple-growers as in his view all the money would go to fight the government. Earlier during the day -at a meeting with the State officials, I had discussed this idea in detail, and there was unanimity among them that its implementation would have a positive fall-out all round''. This statement of Fernandes only shows that he was considered a trivial by the State bureaucracy and was used only as a tool to advance the cause of insurgency and secession. Fernandes was asked to handle Kashmir affairs towards the end of second week of March, 1990 and was stripped of the same by the end of third week of May, 1990. Towards the end of May both Fernandes and Jagmohan were no longer on the Kashmir scene. Therefore, the above meeting of Fernandes and officials of the State administration and Fernandes and the Governor Jagmohan must have taken place only some where between 12th March, 1990 and 24th May 1990. Any discussions on marketting of apples from the State during this period appears to be absurd. No "speedy measures" were required to be taken and, in fact, no measures needed to be considered at that stage. The time for discussions and taking of speedy measures for marketting of apples is from September. What the apple orchards needed at that time were pesticides. If the officials discussed marketting question with Fernandes at that point of time, they were simply making a fool of him. Further, no money is required at all to be made available from the State exchequer for marketing of apples. In his over-enthusiasm to out-Herad Herad, Fernandes, at Railway Minister in September, 1990, prevailed upon certain Central Government organisations to send in advance cardboard boxes to the apple growers in Kashmir. Since the growers had no apples they had to face an unusual problem of making arrangements for returning these empty boxes to their owners outside the State. This caused losses both to apple-growers and to the prospective purchasers. This action was in the true style of Mohammad Tughlaq. Fernandes has also talked about his efforts to market apple juice from Kashmir through railway catering. The false and imaginary apple problem for handling of which Fernandes claims credit during his Ministership of about eleven months, only goes to confirm his immaturity and the prejudice with which he attended to Kashmir affairs during the crucial period. Fernandes gets fully exposed through another article appearing in the same issue of the said magazine, "Seminar" of



April, 1992. This article has been written by Shri Ashok Jaitely, I.A.S., Development Commissioner of the J. & K. Government. Incidentally, it may be repeated that Jaitely has been close to George Fernandes. Mr. Jaitely was the Special Assistant to Mr. Fernandes when he was the Industry Minister from September 1977 to July, 1979, in the Janta Government. Jaitely writes : "... The other important trading commodity for Kashmir is horticulture produce, mainly apples. Here too there has been no serious problem and the outflow of fruits from Kashmir has been maintained (except for the decrease which came as result of the relatively poorer crop in 1990). To compensate for the slightly lower volume, which was restored in 1991, wholesale prices in the Delhi 'Mandi', where the bulk of the distribution is transacted, have been extremely favourable and the net returns to the grower have actually shown an improvement in the last two years. Another interesting feature of the fruit trade has been that the complex network of forward contractors, commission agents and whole-sale traders with their equally mysterious informal financing arrangements have remained intact during these two years (1990-1991). Thus, age-old trade relationship involving advances and payment of vast sums of money based purely upon mutual trust have survived even the migration of non-Kashmiri businessmen from the Valley". Thus, it will be observed that the apples were simply not available for juice for Fernandes' Railway catering. If the State officials had discussed marketing of apples with Fernandes during the period from March to May, their only purpose must have been to create a rift between the Governor and an upstart Central Minister to advance the cause of insurgency and beat the Governor with a Central Government stick. These bureaucrats ultimately succeeded and immediately after the exit of Jagmohan, they circulated a memorandum to the world fora against India. All the Senior Muslim bureaucrats, who appeared innocent to Fernandes, had signed on this memorandum. Topmost five of them were later dismissed from service for this open sedition, by the new Governor, Shri G.C. Saxena, after due consultation with the Central Government, where George Fernandes was still the Cabinet Minister. But unfortunately George Fernandes has a feeling that he is always right. This has cost the country very high price.

It has been a great mystery why George Fernandes has gone completely out of track in the case of Kashmir affairs. In the same article in the said magazine "Seminar", Fernandes writes : "In June, 1990 on an official visit to Washington as a member of the Government (I had by then been relieved of my short stint as a Minister looking after Kashmir Affairs) I met with representatives of Kashmiri Pandits settled in the



United States at a meeting organised by the India Embassy. Blood-curling stories of rape and killing of Kashmir Pandits by Kashmiri Muslims were narrated to me by people who looked quite sensible. It is only when I asked them for the names of the persons and places where such gory incidents had taken place that I discovered that those who had narrated such stories were highly irresponsible people. They had not one name of a person and or place to give me'. If people living in far of America could not give him names and places at that point of time as a Minister in the Government of India, Fernandes should have himself provided these to them instead of calling 'highly irresponsible' people. Daily reports were sent from Srinagar to the Prime Minister and Home Minister and also the Minister for Kashmir Affairs as long as he was there, about names and places of these killings. Newspapers were also carrying such reports, daily. Any-how, blood-curling stories of rape and killing of Kashmiri Pandits by Kashmiri Muslims are given in Appendix to this book. Fernandes can still make amends and seek apology from those in America whom he has most irresponsibly called "highly irresponsible". Fernandes should have at least believed the JKLF terrorist, Bita Karate who has boasted of having killed 40-50 Kashmiri Pandits from January to May, 1990 at the orders of the JKLF high command. Fernandes had boasted of having contacts with JKLF.

Eversince the eruption of present insurgency and terrorism in the Kashmir Valley, Mr. George Fernandes has been singing only one song and that is to blame the Kashmiri Hindus for the economic ills of the Muslims. During his long political career, Mr Fernandes was never known to have taken any interest in the Kashmir affairs. His knowledge and information about Kashmir's economy is only second hand. As Minister for Kashmir Affairs for a few months in 1990, he did pay many visits to the city of Srinagar, and probably a single visit to Anantnag and Baramulla along with the All-Party Committee of M.Ps. His visits to these places were confined to meetings in Dak Bungalows which are on the outskirts of these towns. In Anantnag, he did make a feeble attempt to see the town, but on facing rough weather, made a hasty retreat from Khannabal bridge. Had he taken slight interest in studying the situation in the Valley first hand, he would have observed that there was not a single family, which had not a pacca house of its own to live in, some landed and other immovable property to bank upon. He would have come across people from his Parliamentary constituency of Muzaffarpur (Bihar) working as farm labourers and daily wage mazdoors in rural areas and as domestic servants and daily wage labourers in urban areas of Kashmir Valley. For the



past more than a decade, Biharis have found gainful employment with rich Kashmiri Muslims - farmers, orchardists, factory-owners, exporters etc. There is acute shortage of local labour in Kashmir. George has been holding the view that "Pandits, who are just 3 per cent of the population in Valley but held 80-90 per cent jobs". Fernandes and, in fact, all "progressives" have been spreading this canard because even if it is untrue, they can go scot-free. Hindu-baiting will not annoy anybody and will not invite any reprisals. This lesson has been learnt by India's "progressives" and leftists from British leader, Sir Winston Churchill. These people never bother to acquaint themselves with facts and statistics. What is the truth? The truth is that 98 per cent jobs in the State administration in the Kashmir Valley were manned by Muslims. The population of Kashmir Pandits was 6 per cent in the Valley but they had been having just 1 per cent of the jobs in the State Government. Mr. Fernandes has preferred to be silent on this, but has taken up the issue of Central Government jobs, which are mostly in the Postal and Telecom services and Banks.

Now let us take up the Banking sector first. In the Kashmir Valley, 85 per cent banking work is performed by the Jammu and Kashmir Bank Ltd., which is a State Government sponsored scheduled commercial bank. 99% staff in this bank in the Kashmir Valley consisted of Kashmiri Muslims. The remaining 15% banking work is done by the State Bank of India and other commercial banks. The total staff working in these banks, all put together, does not exceed one thousand persons. We can presume that out of this total figure, of one thousand, nine hundred of these jobs are held by Hindus. It is necessary to find why and how that is so. Banks have a uniform recruitment policy throughout the country. Recruitment is made by the Regional Recruitment Boards specially set up for the purpose. The recruitment process is largely computerised. If the Hindus of Kashmir Valley get entry into the banks through this system, how can they be blamed for it. If Fernandes and like of him were not happy with the situation why they did not work for change in the policy of recruitment. On the contrary, there has been great appreciation of the recruitment policy of the banks after nationalisation. The system is uniform throughout the country including the most backward areas as also States in the North East. Leaders, mediamen and others who think like Fernandes should have courage to say openly that Central jobs should be wholly reserved for the majority community of Muslims in the Kashmir Valley and should be handed over to them on a platter. But, instead they indulge in malicious, motivated and defamatory campaign against helpless Hindus of Kashmir. However, this problem has now been solved by shunting out



the entire Hindu community. This is the Muslim way of solving minority problem as was done by Pakistan in 1947. . Now Muslims in Kashmir are occupying cent per cent jobs both in State Government and in the Central sector. After all, secularism has triumphed. Kashmir Hindus had not got the banking jobs through nepotism, favouritism or reservations. They were there because of computerisation. . The honest course is to issue a Presidential ordinance that the recruitment procedures of Banking services will not apply to the Kashmir Valley where all posts will be filled by the candidates of majority community by nomination. It is deceitful to present Kashmiri Hindus as villains of the piece for not fault of theirs. They are only subjecting themselves to the recruitment procedures as promulgated by the Government for the whole country. In earlier years of this century princely Maharajas and Nawabs were having blooming days. Once a Maharaja was playing cricket. All other players consisted of his own courtiers, loyalists and employees. When the bowler tried to get the Maharaja's wicket, he was reprimanded by the captain of his team :''Can't you see? Maharaja Saheb is making runs. His wicket has to be taken only when he feels tired''. But this dictum will not be followed by an educated, qualified but unemployed and hungry person. He cannot just sit idle for three hours in the Examination Hall to enable the pseudo-secularists to fill their appeasement cup. Holding of less than one thousand jobs by the Hindus in the entire banking sector did not make any difference earlier nor has it resulted in any satisfaction now when all these posts are held by Muslims. In the State Bank of India, a total of 324 clerical posts were held by Hindus in the entire Kashmir Valley. Now all these are held by Muslims some of whom have even been offered promotions just for the sake of it as a gesture of appeasement. Has all this made any impact on insurgency? This issue was raised by Fernandes and like of him without applying their mind to the facts.

As regards jobs in the Posts and Telecommunications Departments, there is a definite history behind it. P & T Services in the Jammu and Kashmir were under the British Central Government till 15th of August, 1947. The J & K was under the Punjab P & T Circle with its headquarters at Lahore. This Circle was called Punjab Circle and was very sprawling one. Its jurisdiction covered Khyber Pass in the West, Gilgit in the North, Ladakh and Kashmir in the East and Rewari and Rahimyar Khan in the South. After partition of the country the Indian portion of this Circle was named East Punjab Circle with its headquarters at Ambala. This East Punjab Circle got overstaffed due to exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from the areas which came under the new country of



Pakistan. In Jammu and Kashmir areas of this Circle, more than sixty thousand jawans were recruited for the World War-II from the areas of Poonch and Mirpur. For the benefit of these fighting servicemen, post offices were opened in almost all towns and major villages. This area was infested with malaria and allied diseases. Staff was reluctant to be posted there. However, unemployed Hindu youth from the Kashmir Valley, out of sheer necessity, had offered themselves for being posted in these areas. They were recruited and sent there. In October, 1947, when these areas fell into the hands of Pakistan, some of these employees escaped to this side and others were repatriated subsequently. Similarly Hindu employees were repatriated from Gilgit and Baltistan areas of the State after these areas were captured by Pakistaani troops. Due to these reasons, staff became surplus in Srinagar. As a result there was no recruitment in the P & T Department for a couple of years. In those times, recruitment to P & T services used to be by open competitive examination. In 1950, a competitive test was held for employment of Postal clerks in the East Punjab Circle. Many highly educated Hindu boys came in the all Circle merit list and offered for being posted anywhere. Some of them were sent to Hyderabad State as Urdu-knowing staff was urgently needed there. Pandits were facing economic ruin at that time and had nothing to choose.

During this period of time, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah had, on the support base of some American officials, begun to show his teeth to Jawaharlal Nehru. They were in the midst of fierce controversies but not much was made public. However, the Sheikh openly and publicly, while addressing post-prayer meetings in Hazaratbal shrine, accused the Nehru Government that it had deliberately not selected the Muslim candidates in the recruitment test held by the East Punjab P & T Circle in the year 1950. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Minister for Health was holding the additional charge of Communications at that time. She went into the whole matter personally and found Abdullah's charge absurd. She gave her report to the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, who spoke to Abdullah about the matter. The Sheikh expressed regret and told Nehru that he had spoken in general and had no specific complaint and that he had been wrongly-reported. However, a year later, addressing an Id congregation at Idgah, Srinagar, in the presence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Sheikh repeated the allegation with a greater vehemence. In reality, Sheikh's motive was different. He was banking on American support for independence and was taking up trifles just for the sake of it. But for Pandit Nehru it became a major issue. He became furious and summoned



Shri Jagjiwan Ram who was the Minister for Communications. The Minister was directed to get hold of answer papers of all the candidates of Srinagar Centre and hand these over to the Education Minister, Maulana Azad. This was done and Maulana Azad, in whose presence Abdullah had made the charge in Srinagar, asked his two Educational Advisors, Professor Humayun Kabir and Khwaja Ghulam Saiyda to re-examine the answer papers and submit their report quickly. These two high-level experts and confidants of Maulana Azad did not find anything wrong and submitted their report accordingly. However, it was decided at the highest level that in the interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities, the system of examination should be abolished. This was done and new procedure was adopted under the personal guidance of Shri Jagjiwan Ram after extensive consultations with Staff Unions and others. The same system is in vogue throughout the country till today. The recruitment procedure was reviewed by all the prominent Ministers who held the Communications portfolio subsequently. Among them Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri I.K. Gujaral, Shri H.N. Bahuguna, Shri K. Brahma-nand Reddy, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, Shri George Fernandes himself, and Mr. Zulfiqarullah (Chhote Mian). All of them found the system quite satisfactory particularly for SC/ST and minorities. It is, therefore, deliberate disinformation and malicious propaganda on the part of responsible leaders, who have been Ministers themselves, to single a small miniscule community for condemnation just because they cannot protest. The fact of the matter is that Muslims in Kashmir fondly prefer State Government jobs, which are comparatively smooth and easy to get, do not involve transfer outside Kashmir, are not subject to long working hours and tight supervision and providing for very large number of holidays, thus enabling the employees to continue attending to their ancestral occupations in urban as well as rural areas. Additionally, extra money is available freely and easily. The number of central jobs is so limited that these do not create any tangible impact on the employment situation. Muslim boys and girls who have grown up under reservations and preferences in the State Government jobs and careers are not able to adjust to the hard work required for the Central Government services. While the State Government jobs number nearly two lakhs, the Central jobs do not exceed three thousand. In the Gulf countries which advertise in the Indian papers, vacancies for several types of executive posts, other things being equal, the first preference is being given to Muslim candidates. And yet a vast majority of posts are filled by Hindus than Muslims. If this could happen in Muslim countries, who do not disguise the



fact that their first preference is for the Muslim candidates, why blame the Hindu of Kashmir. A story goes that in medieval times, the king of a small territory ordered a criminal to be hanged to death. But the hangman pointed out that the criminal had a thin neck and hanging could be adequately done to a Thick-necked person. The king ordered that a Thick-necked person be produced for hanging. The courtiers went in search of a Thick-necked person although they themselves were mostly thick-necked ones. After a long search a poor beggar with a slightly Thick-neck was located and produced before the king, who ordered his hanging. The criminal had the last laugh and returned home jubilant. Full marks to Mr. George Fernandes.

Now the political treachery in Kashmir has taken a very dangerous form. Late Rajiv Gandhi had targetted the Governor, and George Fernandes maligned the Kashmir Pandits. Now Rajesh Pilot is bent upon to demoralise the security forces. Speaking in a Current Affairs programme "Ghoomta Aaina" produced by ANI and telecast on Zee T.V. on 28th February, 1993, and referring to his conversation with ordinary people during his visits as Minister for Internal Security, Mr. Pilot said: "When I talked to these chaps, you believe me, they were saying that we are between two guns. On one side are the militants' guns and the other side para-military guns. It is a factual position in Kashmir". In this statement, Mr. Pilot has equated security forces with terrorists. Security forces have not gone on their own to indulge in the game of gun-totting. They have been lifted from various corners of the country and sent to Kashmir to defend the territorial integrity of the country. And they are controlled by the Minister for Internal Security and have been sent under his orders or under the orders of the Government which he represents. Instead of talking this rubbish why he does not leave the field open for terrorists so that Kashmiri Muslims will have to face only one gun, that of the terrorists? He should not forget that he is in-charge of security forces.

Towards the end of March, 1993, Mr. Rajesh Pilot insisted on addressing a meeting in Srinagar. Apparently, several hundred B.S.F. in mufti had to be rounded up and made to sit on airport Tarmac so that the Minister could have an audience for the benefit of Doordarshan Cameras. (H.T. dated May 3, 1993). The Home Minister S.B. Chavan's foot and mouth disease appears to be incurable.

C.I.A. Chief, James Woolsey told Senate Committee on Terrorism on April 21, 1993 that Pakistan was on the brink of inclusion in the list of terrorist states. Organisation of Islamic countries had been evading to



take any decisive anti-India stand. Foreign Ministers of O.I.C. were meeting in Karachi from April 23, 1993. To stop American action and to force O.I.C. into action, Pakistan's I.S.I. had planned a master-stroke. On April 22, 1993, Kashmir burst into headlines on international T.V. and radio news networks. On this day, Kashmir Armed Police laid seige on the police control room in Srinagar. Next day, these men joined by the staff of the fire brigade, Traffic and other police units - using government trucks and vehicles and waving guns - were shown marching to U.N. observers' office in Srinagar to present a memorandum against 'State terrorism, repression and custodial deaths'. Thus, I.S.I. scored a decisive victory over the mandarins of New Delhi. America developed cold feet about Pakistan's inclusion in Terrorist States list and O.I.C. passed a highly objectionable resolution against India. These rebel policemen had been recruited from the cadres of Jamaat-i-Islami during the Congress government in the State in 1973 and afterwards against all lrules and regulations as an act of appeasement. Unmindful of the ground reality, the mandarins have again embarked on recruitment on a large-scale of "aspiring unemployed youth" into not only the State Police formations but also in para-military forces.

Mr. Rajesh Pilot appears to be convinced that only he knew to wrap up an instant solution of the problem in the State and all the others who had hitherto dealt with it were amateurs. What is now taking place in Kashmir is an integral part of the long-established strategy desired by the Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan. That is why the terrorists continue to find it easy to keep the Valley on the boil by staging spectacular actions from time to time. There was never any question of choosing between tough security precautions and a political process. The only credible Kashmir policy can be one of undiminished vigilance against elements entrusted with the enforcement of the Pakistani design. This process can never be subordinated to any political formula meant to win the confidence of the people. The increasing American attention to the State, as a cause for Indo-Pak discord, has also made ISI doubly active in intensifying its operation. Political Changes in' Pakistan do not influence these operations in any manner whatsoever. Confusion at the top has been manifested by the ;Home Minister, Mr. S.B.Chavan himself. In an interview to the magazine 'Onlooker', in the first week of June, 1993, he said: "I am not directly handling Kashmir. Pilot is handling it." When questioned whether he was being consulted, he refused to give a reply. Chavan added : "Pilot might be having a game-plan on Kashmir, I don't



know. Change of Governor and his advisors might be part of his game-plan, I don't know."

Mr. Pilot has persuaded Doordarshan to routinely carry audio-visual item in News Bulletins on how the Valley is "fast returning to normal." There are interviews with hand-picked people to say that everything was quite normal. A variation of this is to show one street with some people moving on and also occasionally to parade a few "repentent terrorists". And, of course, as a flash, Mr. Pilot himself being shown addressing the "people".

*"Woh waqt bhi dekha hai, Tareekh ki gaharyiyoon ney,  
Lamhoon ne khata ki thi, Sadiyoon ney saza payee."*



## Chapter 8

### Nation in Crucible

"O, God ! save me from my friends,  
I will handle my enemies myself."

On the 17th July, 1944, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah expressing his desire to meet him and discuss with him the communal question. Jinnah agreed to receive Gandhiji in his house in Bombay. They met on 9th September, 1944. The talks were carried on over a period of 18 days till 27th September, 1944 when it was announced that the talks had failed. Jinnah was firm and clear about his aim of carving out a separate Islamic homeland for Mussalmans of India. But in negotiations he deliberately gave the impression of being vague and refused to compromise on them. This was his strategy of keeping the British fully on his side. He also kept himself aloof from the demand for freedom. Hindus and the Congress would fight the battle for freedom and in order to thwart it, the British Government would fight the battle for him. It would, therefore, be prudent to wait upon events; sooner or later, they would unfurl themselves to his advantage. It was, therefore, worse than useless for Gandhiji to seek Jinnah's co-operation against the British rule. The failure of talks was thus inevitable. On bended knees, Gandhiji asked Jinnah on September 25, 1944 to give him an opportunity to address the Council of the Muslim League so that he might seek its verdict in its own plan of settlement. "If they feel like rejecting it", he wrote, "I would like you to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League. If you would accept my advice and permit me, I would attend the open session and address it". Jinnah promptly turned down his request.

Gandhiji made a serious mistake by "waiting" upon Jinnah. Till then the League leader derived his eminence from the manoeuvre of the British Government, but now a world figure was knocking at his door to solicit his favour. His mode of address hardly conduced to bring him closer to the other man. He called Jinnah "Quad-i-Azam" or supreme leader. He wrote; Without pausing to consider the implication of his action Gandhi addressed Jinnah as "Quad-i-Azam" ... When Indian Mussalmans saw that Gandhiji also addressed Mr. Jinnah as Qaid-i-Azam, they



felt that he must really be so. Maulana Azad was convinced that Gandhi was wrong in opening correspondence with the League leader and in going to Bombay to meet him. Sardar Patel was equally unhappy about it. By addressing Jinnah as Supreme leader of Mussalmans of India, Gandhiji, by a single stroke of pen, had degraded and downgraded the Muslim leaders who were members of the Congress including its President, Maulana Azad. When Jinnah found himself courted both by powerful British Government and by a person who had overwhelmed support of the Hindus of India, he really believed that a kindly fate had transformed him into a man of destiny. The fact that he nursed such a belief was made clear to Gandhiji during the September talks. Gandhiji suggested "You change my views if you can and I will support you whole-heartedly". "Yes", "I know, if I can convert you, you will be my Ali", he said. "It was a most revealing remark". Gandhiji observed afterwards: "I was meeting the prophet of Pakistan looking for his Ali". Till Gandhi met Jinnah and committed himself to the Principle of partition, the concept of Pakistan had largely figured in platform oratory, in poetic imagination and in sentimental and ill-informed political literature.

As a result of British Elections immediately after the World War-II ended, Labour Party with Clement Atlee as P.M. assumed power in England in July, 1945. On the directions of the new Government, the Governor-General of India, Lord Wavel announced on September 19, 1945, that steps would be taken to hasten India's attainment of self-Government. Elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly were also hinted. As the preparations for electoral fray began, the All-India Muslim League appeared to be fierce. Its greatest asset at the hustings was fanaticism. "Islam in Danger" and "Pakistan Zindabad" were its slogans that could be trusted to make any sober assessment of the issues involved impossible. Mussalman masses were incited in the name of Islam. They were told that their salvation was in getting an independent Islamic homeland. The electoral victory of the Muslim League was impressive. It won all the thirty Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and 427 of 507 Muslim seats in the provincial legislatures. Muslim League's victory was spectacular in U.P. which had become the nerve-center of the movement for the creation of Pakistan. In U.P., the Muslim's attitude towards the freedom struggle alternated between indifference and antipathy and in the final stage, active and militant hostility. Even during provincial autonomy (1937), Muslims under the muslim League were distinctly separatist. No muslim owing allegiance to the Congress got elected to the legislature in U.P. So when Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was forming his Cabinet, he was hard to find two



Muslim ministers for his six member minister. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, a long-standing Congressman, had taken a Muslim League ticket so he could not be taken in the Congress Ministry as a Muslim Leaguer. He resigned and was then made a Minister under customary six-month rule without being a member of the Assembly. He was later elected on the ticket of the ruling party. The other Muslim Minister, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai who was also earlier defeated, was ushered in through a special, non-communal constituency.

Muslim League rejoiced over its thumping victory especially in provinces like U.P. Bihar, Bengal, Bombay Province (it included present Maharashtra and Gujrat States) etc. The stunning victory validated Jinnah's movement and proved the universal appeal of Pakistan among the Muslims of India. "The day is not far off", Jinnah promised his jubilant Muslim followers, "When Pakistan shall be at your feet". He directed more criticism and sarcasm at Jawaharlal Nehru mocking him as "the impetuous Pandit who never learns or unlearns anything and never grows old.... nothing but Peter Pan". The election results made Jinnah bold to tell the British Parliamentary Delegation, which arrived in India in January, 1946 that he would accept no arrangement interim or permanent, except on his own terms. The Mussalmans of India decisively voted for two-nation theory and establishment of Pakistan. In the Provinces which were to be included in the proposed Islamic homeland, the mandate was not convincing. The verdict was such a mixed bag that in no Province, Punjab, NW.F.P, Sind could the Muslim League form a Ministry on the basis of clear electoral verdict. NWFP got a Congress Ministry, Punjab a Unionist-led co-alition Ministry and the same position emerged in Sind. Even in Bengal, the verdict was not very decisive. However, the minority mussalmans of Ganga-Yamuni belt had devastatingly turned against the Congress and the Hindus. These Muslim electors had raised Jinnah's stock and stature sky-high. They had done this not only electorally but also financially and by all other conceivable methods. Aligarh Muslim University had become the main alma mata of Jinnah's intellectual forces. Jinnah rose to the climax of communal politics leaving Congress and Gandhi high and dry. Hindus were the defeated lot because they had put all their eggs in the bottomless basket of the Congress. The seed sown by Lord Minto through separate representation had attained full bloom through congress watering and fertilisers. The Muslims of U.P., Bihar, C.P. (present M.P.), Bombay (Present Maharashtra and Gujrat) had rejected the Congress and particularly Gandhi and Nehru with vengeance. Aligarh University had become pivot from



where the movement for Islamic homeland radiated. Policies in India became so perverse that on March 31, 1946, Jinnah had told the foreign editor of the News Chronicle that there was no such country as India and that he, Jinnah was not an Indian at all. In the ensuing months decency and humanity was replaced by fanaticism and hatred. It was soon provided in all its frightful vividness in the ensuing months.

On July 29, 1946, the All India Muslim League announced its programme of direct action for establishment of the homeland for the Muslims of India. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the League declared: "This day, we bid goodbye to constitutional methods. The drums of war were beaten and the battle for Pakistan would be fought in the streets of Indian cities, the D-Day being August, 16, 1946." Bengal had a Muslim League Ministry. The fratricidal conflict began from the city of Calcutta. The mass killing of Hindus is known as Great Calcutta Killings. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, the premier of Bengal who also held the portfolio of Law and order, was the Generalissimo of the army of assassins whose camp was in the criminal jungle of Calcutta. "Suhrawardy", writes Leonardo Mosely "loved money, champagne, polish blondes and dancing the tango in night clubs and he was reputed to have made a fortune during the war". The same author tells us that the Premier loved Calcutta including its filthy, festering slums and it was from the noisome alleyways of Howrah that he picked his goondas who accompanied him anywhere as a bodyguard". He declared a Public Holiday on August 16, 1946 and armed his desperate retainers with all the lethal weapons he could lay his hands on so that they might use them devastatingly against their unsuspecting unarmed and law-abiding Hindu fellow-citizens. To ensure that they did their devilish worst, he caused all the Hindu Police officers to be transferred from key positions.

The stage was thus set for great Calcutta Killing. Addressing a mammoth gathering of blood-thirsty men on August 16, the great guardian of law and order incited them to fall upon the unfortunate Hindus by rousing the mob to a frenzy of hatred. Gen. Tuker, who was an eyewitness of the unbridled savagery with of Calcutta Catachysm which raged for four days, wrote: "It was unbridled savagery with homicidal maniacs let loose to kill and maim and burn. The under-world of Calcutta was taking charge of the city. It is estimated that more than five thousand Hindus were killed and more than fifteen thousand injured during the four day riots. The Calcutta conflagration spread to Noakhali in East Bengal with Ghulam Sarwar Mian Saheb playing a role indential to that of suhrawardy.



An interim government was constituted under the leadership of Pt. Nehru as Vice President. It functioned as Viceroy's Executive Council from September, 1946. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan a Scholarly Muslim, who had agreed to join the government with Nehru, was murdered by Muslim fanatics on the eve of his assuming office. The Muslim League joined the Government on October 26, 1946. The Muslim League behaved and functioned as if Pakistan had already become a fait accompli. Abdul Rab Nishtar, who was the Minister for Communications ordered that the imported telecommunication equipment, which was coming to Bombay Port, should be diverted to Karachi port and stored there. One Muslim Minister declared that the killings of Hindus in East Bengal was but a dress rehearsal for his party's country-wide struggle to divide India. Although Nehru was supposed to be leader of the combined team, a U.P. jagirdar, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who led the League wing in the Executive Council, announced that the interim government "consisted of a Congress bloc and a Muslim bloc functioning under separate leadership". The collusion of the British and Muslim officials with the crusaders of the Muslim pure-land led to a growing polarisation of the administration, which forced Nehru and Patel to agree to the inevitable, although Gandhi still recited his Allah-Ishwar verses, which had not even symbolic or academic interest now. The prominent Muslim leaders, who were pretending to be close to him abandoned him mercilessly accusing him of being a Hindu fanatic. There was beeline for jumping into Jinnah's bandwagon. Not only fence-sitters but congress stalwarts joined the Muslim League. When Gandhi died in 1948, paying a tribute to him, the Governor-General of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah said "A great Hindu leader had passed away". The leaders who deserted Gandhi included Khan Abdul Qayoom Khan, who had been made Deputy leader of the congress Central Legislature Party, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi and many others. Abdul Qayoom Khan who later became the Chief Minister of North West Frontier province was the Chief Organiser of the tribal invasion of Kashmir in October, 1947.

Lord Mountbatten took charge as India's new Governor-General and Viceroy of India on March 24, 1947. Gandhi called on him on March 31 and explained his political ideology to the viceroy. He suggested to Mountbatten that Jinnah and his Muslim League should be given the control of India's Government exclusively and British should not leave before such a thing happened. Gandhi told Mountbatten that if Muslim League came to power the Muslims may be persuaded to stop killings and acts of lawlessness. In response to this gesture, Jinnah declared: "Two



nations. Confronting each other. In every province. Every town. Every village. That is the only solution". Abdul Rab Nishtar asserted: Pakistan can only be achieved by shedding blood, and if the opportunity arises, the blood of non-Muslims must be shed, for Muslims are no believers in Ahimsa. The Secretary of the Muslim League of Calcutta issued a prayer: "O God, we, ten crores in India, through bad luck, have become slaves of the Hindus and the British. We are starting a jihad in your name in this very month of Ramazan. We promise before you that we entirely depend on you. Make us victorious over the Kafirs, enable us to establish the Kingdom of Islam in India.... May we build up in India the greatest Islamic kingdom in the World". "O Kafir your doom is not far and the general massacre will come. We shall show our glory with swords in hands and will have a special victory". Amir-ud-Din sent to Jinnah the following message: "So far we have given sufficient time to Indian infidels. It is time to remove the darkness of infidelity and illuminate the whole universe by resplendent Islam. To accomplish this sublime cause, we must slaughter the infidels as was done in the early days". In consequence, in Calcutta more than five thousand Hindus were killed and property worth millions was looted and destroyed.

Massacre of Hindus and Sikhs began in the Western areas of Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was distressed on account of these riots. He said on May 3, 1947 "I feel seriously concerned at the man-slaughter and devastations of innocent people's property that are now going on. I see darkness all round and I do not know whether my motherland is being led to". During these bloody riots of March, 1947, the Muslim League made desperate attempt to capture power in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. The Guardians of law and order stood back watching man's inhumanity to man with unseeing eyes. The victims of communal frenzy were tauntingly advised to go to Gandhi and Nehru for protection. As a matter of fact, the "Reforms" planted in the Indian body politic what was aptly-called the "the official germ of Pakistan" by giving separate representation to the minorities. Much before Gandhi ji's disappointment, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru had felt disgusted as much with the subservience of the Muslim zealots as with the machinations of bureaucracy. His letter to his son, Jawaharlal dated April 29, 1909 disclosed his indignation at the deplorable state of affairs in India. He wrote "The Hindu-Muslim question is the talk of the day. They (Muslims) have insulted us so often and so grossly that we are seriously thinking of breaking off with them.... Amir Ali and others are being put up not by the fifty-three millions of Indian Muslims but by a few Anglo-



Indians who saw their only chance in setting Hindus against Muslims. The Hindus were actuated by the best feeling for what they are now being discredited everywhere".

Eventually, India was divided and the Muslims were given separate homeland both in the East and the West. An independent new country of Pakistan came into existence on 14th August, 1947 and the remaining territory of India became free from British rule on 15th August, 1947. Jinnah left for Karachi with his entourage on August 7, 1947. His last days in India were neither edifying either to himself nor to his cause. The Indian Muslims who had so ruthlessly spearheaded the movement for partition suddenly but belately realised that the beneficiaries of their crusade would not be themselves but others. It dawned upon them that absurd two-nation theory had not only driven "ideological wedge between the Muslims and the Hindus of India", but that its corollary, namely, the partition of the country, would create a natural barrier even between Muslims of majority and minority provinces'. At a meeting held in Delhi one week before his departure for Karachi, Jinnah was called upon to solve these conundrums. There was, of course, no solution to them. Khal-iqazzaman tells us that never before had he found his leader "so disconcerted as on the occasion" and that the creator of Pakistan "took the earliest opportunity to bid good-bye".

The birth of Pakistan resulted in the massive massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan and of Hindus and many Christians in East Pakistan. Lakhs and lakhs of refugees came to seek shelter in India. Muslim League's militarised Muslim National Guards, the Party's striking force was fully used for religious cleansing. The Muslim mobs, "says Penderel Moon," suddenly, as though on a pre-concerted signal, came out in their true colours with the weapons indulged in murder, loot and arson on a scale never witnessed before in the Punjab during a hundred years of British rule. In Multan, Rawalpindi, Sargodha and many other places the unruly mobs fell upon Hindus and Sikhs with primeval savagery. In sheikhpura alone thousands of Hindus and Sikhs were killed in a few hours. Jinnah showed total unconcern towards this terrible massacre. He told Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, The prime minister of Bahawalpur State that the "sikhs could go to the devil in their own way". Lyalpur and Montgomery districts, which had been developed by the Sikh farmers with their sweat and blood, were among the initial targets and were cleared of the Sikhs in one sweep. Happenings in Punjab were, in reality worse than nature's convulsions. Millions of Hindus and Sikhs got oppressed, humiliated and reduced to absolute pauperism.



They poured into the territory called India with undeserving suffering that had been inflicted upon them in their own ancestral homes. Many of them had lost near and dear ones. The fate of their daughters and sisters caught and carried away by their pitiless persecutors was not known. Sardar Patel, the Home Minister kept Gandhiji fully informed about the Punjab (Pakistan) situation. Writing on August 27, 1947, he told Gandhi that many cities and villages in West Pakistan were going into flames, while the people were being "cut to pieces like vegetables". Both the Army and the police, he said, had joined the rioters. Eighty-five percent police personnel were Muslims. Gandhi returned to Delhi from Bengal. Speaking at one of his prayer meetings, he said : "I have heard that a convey of Hindus and sikhs, fifty-seven mile long is fleeing from West Punjab. Such a happening is unparalleled in the history of the world". There was some retaliation but it was still very mild. Free India's first Government left no stone unturned to give full protection to the Muslims. Gandhi devoted his entire time and energy in preaching communal harmony in Hindu majority areas. Mountbatten was sitting over the head of his Cabinet to prevent any retaliation in India. He told the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet: "If we go down in Delhi we are finished ".

Delhi had been the storm centre of the Muslim League whose unbridled campaign of hatred and contempt for Hindus and Sikhs had thoroughly perverted the minds of Muslim residents of the city. With the object of staging a coup d'etat against a distracted and debilitated Indian Government, they had collected large quantities of arms and ammunition besides setting up factories to manufacture both. Even such sophisticated weapons of destruction as stenguns, Brenguns, mortars and rifles were being turned out. The number of unlicensed fire arms held by them was almost unlimited. The seriousness of the situation was further aggravated by the fact that the bulk of the police Force was Muslim. "Searches of Muslim houses", writes Pyare Lal, "by the Police had revealed dumps of bombs, arms and ammunition. In a number of places, stenguns and mortars were actually used by the Muslims in pitched fights". The ambition of Muslim Leaguers to plant the banner of the crescent on the ramparts of the Red Fort may at this distance of time strike one as fantastic but in those crisis-ridden days, any adventure appeared to be feasible. The Muslim Constabulary, which predominated in the Delhi Police Force was dependable, while the resources at the command of the Home Ministry to preserve the fabric of the State were dishearteningly meager. However, the Capital of India was saved from falling into the hands of Muslim ruffians by promptly obtaining Police re-enforcements from other parts of the country. The same danger existed in many Indian cities. When no



less a person than Lord Mountbatten expressed grave concern over the security of the Capital. It was then concluded by the Home Minister that politics could not be the arena of morals and that Muslim aggression could be stopped only from a position of strength. But the situation was nearing to such a mess that even the Government with all its forces at its command would have been unable to do anything. For one thing massacre of Hindus in the newly-created Islamic country of Pakistan was unabated. secondly, the preachings, teachings and ideology of the Congress more particularly Mahatma Gandhi had got trampled under the feet of ferocious Muslim communalism. Gandhi and his creed not only became irrelevant but an eye-sore. The displaced persons from Pakistan had lost all their material goods. Their physical and mental privations were unbearable. They were reduced to the same level where even the means for leading an animals existence had become inaccessible. Any place was good enough for them in which to shelter their bodies. Gandhi staked everything to protect the Muslims in Delhi and other places of Indian dominion. He used his prayer meetings for preaching communal harmony. "Hindus and Sikhs must be very brave in the Indian Union. They must reach such heights of courage that even if every Hindu and Sikh gets killed in Pakistan, they must see that not a single Muslim is harmed here". Pakistan, though happy with the role of Gandhi, Nehru and Mountbatten, played a negative role in regard to its own minorities. The Government and top leaders of Pakistan connived in and encouraged hooligans. In fact, they were solving the minority problem in their own way. Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan admitted that "the Muslims were so enraged with Sikhs that any attempt to interfere with their determination would have created misunderstanding about their leaders". "Wave after wave of new refugees continued to pour into India. Gandhi was accused of hardness of heart towards the Hindus. He had not suffered as they had. He had not lost dear ones as they had nor had he like them been rendered homeless, and penniless", says G.D. Tendulkar, biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. On January 29, he recalled at his usual prayer meeting that one of the forty refugee deputations from Bannu (NWFP) that had come to see him had thrown the entire blame for their misfortune on him. The refugees had angrily asked the Mahatma "to leave them alone and retire to the Himalayas". That indeed was the general feeling among the people when death came to him most unexpectedly on the following day. Madan Lal Pahwa, an embittered refugee youth from West Pakistan threw a bomb on January 20, 1948 at Birla House when Gandhiji was addressing a prayer meeting. Gandhi had escaped unharmed.



The life of the Mahatma was one of dedication and "Tapasya". He had put on the 'choti' and 'langoti' of a pious Hindu. Morning and evening he conducted public prayers before commencing on the day's political or any other developments. He thought in terms of 'satya' and 'ahimsa', 'satyagraha' and 'Brahmacharya', 'Harijan' and 'Daridranatayan', all of them Hindu Dharama concepts. Many his prescriptions were, therefore, for the mankind of tomorrow and not of today. During the Khilafat agitation Gandhiji tried to influence Muslim leaders with non-violence but failed. In an appeal to Englishmen in India, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his weekly paper on October 27, 1920, that he would not hurt them even if he had the power to do so, but the Ali brothers would "Certainly draw the sword". The plain fact is that Gandhiji's ideology and his emphasis on need for Hindu-Muslim unity was not accepted by the Mussalmans of India. Sudden death of Lala Lajpat Rai enabled Gandhi to make Hindus to accept non-violence even at the cost of their honour and life. Lajpat Rai had described non-violence as an ineluctable doctrine. He wrote: "Ahimsa overdone and misapplied is a gangrene that poisons the system, enervates the faculties and converts men and women into half-lunatic, hysterical, unnerved creature good for nothing that requires the energetic pursuits of noble ends and noble virtues. Gandhi wanted to create a world of imaginary perfection. While he was free to do so, it is our duty to point out his errors".

Gandhi found himself isolated and alone. The principles he regarded as cardinal were rejected by the people and were no longer acceptable even to his most devoted adherents. It had been his desire and hope to live for one hundred and twenty-five years so that he could serve his fellow men longer than is possible for any mortal. Weighed down by sorrow and disappointment, he yearned for an early death. "My life's work seems to be over", he said and added: "I hope God will spare me further humiliation". Rising early in the morning of June 1, 1947, he gave expression to the agony of his soul. "Today", he said in a low voice, "I find myself alone. Even the Sardar and Jawaharlal think that my reading of the situation is wrong". There were also other Congressmen who found the distance between them and Gandhi lengthening. Acharya Kripalani was one of his earliest lieutenants who had given his unswerving loyalty to him for thirty years. He could no longer be with him because the "Mahatma" himself was "groping in the dark". India's liberation was inevitable. The United States, the Soviet Union and Marshal Chian Kai-Shek's China, besides other forward-looking nations, would have, in the larger interests of international peace ensured the liberation of this



country from British rule as part of post-war settlement. Had this conviction been vouchsafed to the Mahatma betimes, perhaps he would have exerted his tremendous influence to frustrate the heinous ideology of the Muslim League by co-operating with the Government, during the world crisis. It is true that partition of India was the outcome of a carefully devised British policy, but a skillful display of diplomacy and statesmanship by congress leadership especially when the ill omens in the Indian Politics became so obvious could have averted the tragedy. In that event, the gloom that filled the mind of the Mahatma in his last days and even his assassination could perhaps have been avoided. He might also have escaped the mortification of being looked upon even by some of his close associates as a revered anachronism during his very life time.

It has been stated by competent observers that the astounding rise and behaviour of the Muslim League during these war years and its unbridled acts of violence especially after its admission to Lord Wavel's interim Government in 1946, would not have taken place if the leadership of the Congress had been in the hands of Sardar Patel instead of in those of Gandhi and Nehru. N. V. Gadgil says: "From the day Nehru joined the Wavel Government, it became evident that he was incapable of taking firm decisions". When Gandhi referred to the Muslim community in connection with the Award of the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald on the representation of the minorities in the Indian legislatures, Sardar Patel neatly turned the tables on the Mahatma with the pregnant observation: "But are there any Muslims who will listen to you?"

Mahatma Gandhi could not rejoice at the birth of new India on August 15, 1947. A truncated and strife-torn India was certainly not the India of his dreams. During that period he was trying to save at least a few Hindu lives in East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, who accompanied Gandhiji in Noakhali district of East Pakistan for some time always kept poison in her pocket while she was there. This was for killing herself instantly in case she was abducted by Muslim hooligans. Gandhiji could not save a single Hindu life in Pakistan. However, he was able to save Lakhs of Muslim lives in India. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia University, Delhi, who later became the President of India wanted to go to Pakistan and work for its development. But Jinnah ignored him. Zakir Hussain wrote a letter to Jinnah on June 10, 1947 from Madras. written in his own hand on the letter-head of Jamia Millia Islamia, Jamia Nagar, Delhi, the letter begins with "Respected Quaid-i-Azam". It mentions the names of leading Muslims in the sub-continent whose services could be availed of for "Pakistan which



your almost super human efforts have brought into being". The letter recalled that Quaid-i-Azam had asked him at the Afghan Independence Day function to suggest names of persons whose services could be availed of for Pakistan. The letter mentions large number of Muslims like Sir Abdul Rahim, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, etc. On question relating to army, Dr. Zakir Hussain had suggested in his letter that H.H. the ruler of Bhopal and Mohammad Ali can be expected to advise on Indian conditions. "On major question of defence I feel some foreign expert advice will be needed. But the official formal advisor should I think be an Indian Muslim", the letter continued. The letter said, "if I can be of any service in framing of educational programmes, I shall deem it a privilege to be able to do so". The letter is preserved in original at Karachi.

This is how all the educated Muslim elite left for Pakistan while advisors like Zakir Hussain remained to claim their share at the top in India. When too many bureaucrats left for Pakistan, in October, 1947 the Pakistan Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan (who hailed from UP) was reported to have sent a secret message that the rest should remain here to serve the Muslim cause in India. Gandhi even enabled lakhs of Muslims, who had earlier migrated to Pakistan to return to India. But the situation even in India was by and by turning far from satisfactory. The massive influx of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan was continuing unabated. They were bringing tales of sorrow and atrocities which began to leave terrible impact on the listeners. Hindu-Muslim unity had become a thing of the past. Congressmen were sullen and faceless. Their ideology had been thrown to the mud. Things were about to get hot everywhere in India too. Hindus and Sikhs were full of feeling of rage and revenge. Muslims of West Pakistan had been extra cruel and atrocious on the Sikh population. Rape and abduction of Hindu and Sikh women and been going on. Muslims of India were on the verge of facing danger to their very existence. Everybody had abandoned them. All their leaders and Mullas had left for Pakistan. Muslims had tremendous guilty conscience and felt demoralised. Majority of Aligarh Muslim University hot-heads and other prominent Muslim leaders migrated to their newly-acquired homeland which had been named "pureland". Choudhry Khaliquzze-man was the top Muslim League leader in U.P. He did not migrate for ensuring safety of this property, he made a virtue out of necessity and delivered an impassioned speech in the Indian Constituent Assembly offering his loyalty to this country. His eloquence paid immediate dividends. Nehru rushed to him and embraced him warmly in grateful recognition of his devotion to his motherland. But after having settled his real



estate matters, he immediately ran away to Pakistan by giving a slip to everyone. In Pakistan he became a very vocal and active opponent of India. This was a great slap on the face of Nehru on behalf of Muslims. Referring to the Khaliqzaman episode in his famous Lucknow speech on January 6, 1948, Sardar Patel said: "the man who got Pakistan established belonged to this city. Thank God, he has left for Pakistan and we are happy".

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who held the post of Pakistan's foreign Minister, the Prime Minister and the President had threatened India with thousand years war and called Indians dogs in an open meeting of the U.N. Security Council. Mohammed Ali Currimboy Chagla the Muslim Education Minister of India boldly pointed out to Bhutto that "almost every Pakistani is a converted Muslim, a fact conveniently forgotten by Pakistan's Foreign Minister". He added: that in the veins of every Pakistan "there flows Hindu blood". "Therefore, by degrading India and Hindu culture, he was really libeling and defaming his own forefathers". Before becoming a Minister in Ayub Khan's Government in Pakistan in 1959, Bhutto had been claiming to be an Indian citizen. Bhutto had claimed to be the resident of Bombay where he lived with his parents at the time of partition and owned property there. The Deputy Custodian of Evacuee Properties declared him an evacuee on July 6, 1949 and took over his property. Bhutto contested this declaration order before the Custodian-General, Bombay, the Punjab (India) High Court and finally before the Supreme Court of India. In his appeal to the Custodian-General, Bombay dated January 30, 1956, Bhutto said that when he "went to U.S.A. in September, 1947 (for studies) he went on an Indian Passport and as an Indian national".

The Muslim leaders of U.P. and other Indian States, who migrated to Pakistan take pride in having worked for creation of a homeland for themselves. General Mirza Aslam Beg, who was the chief of the Pakistan's Armed Forces till the end of 1991 was a resident of Azamgarh in U.P. and had migrated to the new Muslim homeland. He was President of the Muslim students Federation in the College days in Azamgarh. He is proud of his credential as an active member of the Pakistan Movement. He never tires of telling people how he is "perhaps the first man in uniform who fought the war for Pakistan in undivided India face to face with an enemy and in an area where the Muslim population was only eleven per cent of the total". It is pertinent to note here that Azamgarh has continued to be the citadel of Pakistan ideology under the garb of supporters of the leftist forces. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the even of the



creation of a separate Muslim homeland of Pakistan had suggested exchange of population between the two countries. When the question of left-over Muslims in India after the formation of Pakistan was put to Rehmat Ali the originator of Pakistan, he said: "How will it affect the position of forty-five million Muslims in Hindustan proper? The truth is that in this struggle their thought has been more than a wrench to me. They are the flesh of our flesh and soul of our soul. We can never forget them; nor they us. Their present position and future security is and shall ever be, a matter of great importance to us. The only effective guarantee we can offer is that of reciprocity, and therefore, we solemnly undertake to give all those safeguards to non-Muslims minorities in Pakistan which will be conceded to our Muslim minority in Hindustan. But what sustains us most is the fact that they know we are proclaiming Pakistan in the highest interest of the "Millat". It is as much theirs as it is ours. While for us it is a national citadel, for them it will ever be a moral anchor. So long as the anchor holds, everything is or can be made safe. But once it gives way all will be lost". The answer given by the Muslims of Hindustan is equally clear. They say: "We are not weakened by the separation of Muslims into Pakistan and Hindustan. We are better protected by the existence of separate Islamic States on the Eastern and Western borders of Hindustan than we are by their submersion in Hindustan". However, time was running fast. Pakistan completed religious cleansing of Hindus and Sikhs from its Western wing in a few months. In the Eastern Wing, Pakistan thought it profitable to go slow when senior Congress leader and west Bengal Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy and Sardar Patel expressed the view that if exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan continued unabated, an equal number of Muslims from West Bengal would be asked to migrate to East Pakistan.

However, tempers were running high and the blood of Hindus and Sikhs was boiling. Anything could happen any time and anywhere. But due to the grace of God, the situation took a dramatic turn. Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who was still considering how best he could solve the accession issue, was forced by Pakistan to accede to India without any second thought. Pakistan had sent tribal marauders and desperadoes, who indulged in loot, arson and massacre. The Maharaja had no alternative to seeking armed assistance from India. There was no other way out. Army could not be sent without accession. So the State which had the majority of Muslim population acceded to India. It was a God-given gift to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and a last minute life-saving drug for the Mussalmans of India. Now Congress leaders became bold to announce that here was a Muslim majority state which had acceded to



India thus refuting the two-nation theory of the Muslim League. The accession was proclaimed as a triumph of secularism. Gandhiji seized the opportunity and exclaimed that a ray of hope and light had come from Kashmir. The development had a salutary effect on the emotions of Hindus and Sikhs. It raised the morale of the Muslims throughout the country. Till now guilt was written all over faces of those who had stayed behind. They were the ones who had given Jinnah their vote; they were the ones who made Pakistan possible. Suddenly came the realisation that while theirs was the guilt for partitioning India, those they had supported had left them in a lurch. There was only one way out of their dilemma to put the Muslim League underground. The League except in Kerala outwardly went underground but Muslim Leaguers surfaced in the shape of supporters of the Congress. The very people who applauded Jinnah when he declared Nehru as "the imetuous Pandit who never unlearns or learns anything", now found expedient to fawn on him and to vote for the Congress. This was certainly a sure way to get their pound of flesh afresh. The vehement Muslim Leaguer who voted solidly for Jinnah and for a separate homeland now became a vehement Congressman singing praise to the eternal Peter Pan. Now Nehru couldn't do anything wrong in the Muslim eyes. Wasn't he a true secularist whom they now needed? This also suited Nehru and Congressman very well. The Muslims in India won both ways. They succeeded in carving out of India two new Islamic countries and they got equal rather more rights and privileges by nailing down the congress to secularism. It was a simple case of heads I win tails you lose. The Congress was not worried as long as it won election after election. Kashmir's accession to India had done wonders. It gave two fixed deposits to the Muslims in the shape of two new Islamic independent states and made them senior partners in the joint account that was named India. Senior because they got more rights in the constitution than the majority community of Hindus.

The Indian Government restored communal peace in this country by the first week of November, 1947 coinciding with Kashmir's accession to India. The immigration of Muslims from India to Pakistan completely ceased. Besides, the Government permitted two million Muslims to return to India and re-occupy their lands and property. The changed scenario made great impact on the framers of India's Constitution. Liberal provisions were made for the minorities who actually meant the Muslims. Sheikh Abdullah was made a hero. He was taken round the country to address mass meetings. The theme of Sheikh's speeches used to be that the Muslims of Kashmir had cast their lot with India because they wanted to strengthen the hands of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.



Speaking in the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly, Sheikh Abdullah said: "It is my considered judgement that the presence of Kashmir in the Union of India has been the major factor in stabilising relations between Hindus and Muslims of India". Other Muslim leaders from Kashmir like Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad Maulana Sayeed Mosoodi also were requested to make country-wide extensive tours. This had also a big morale raising effect on the Muslims of India themselves. Suddenly, Urdu newspapers, Urdu poets and writers became bold and came out of the stigma of having worked for the creation of Pakistan. They began to write in praise of secularism and against the two-nation theory. The Jamiat-ulema-i-Hindi became extra active to present the Muslim case. The "Al-Jamiat" an Urdu Daily and official organ of the Jamiat suddenly turned into congress mouth-piece Former Muslim leaguers became Congressmen overnight. The districts of Malada and Murshidabad in West Bengal took the cake in this regard where every Muslim League leader put on a white Gandhi Cap. Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rehman became a daily visitor to Pandit Nehru to bring to his personal notice what he called the Muslim problems. The result of his personal contacts with Pandit Nehru was that thousands of Pakistani nationals were allowed to overstay in India beyond the period stipulated in their visas. Most of them never returned and instead got their properties restored to them. This was the miracle performed by Kashmir. When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah under the influence of certain Western elements, indulged in tricks and deceit, India's nationhood got threatened. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad could not think what to do. Safety of Muslims of India was their prime consideration and this was being threatened by Abdullah's intrigues. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was assigned the task of solving the grim situation. Kidwai got Abdullah dismissed and imprisoned and saved India's nationhood at a critical juncture.

When in the very first instance, the Kashmir issue surfaced before the Indian leaders, Pandit Nehru speaking in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on 26th November, 1947, inter-alia said:

"...It was clear to us that we could not possibly accept in any circumstances the ruin of Kashmir by brutal and irresponsible raiders. This would have been surrender to frightfulness and fanaticism of the worst type and it would have had the most serious consequences all over India.....".

Replying to a letter from comrade Prem nath Bazaz, a prominent Royist who was working overtime for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, Pandit Nehru wrote on 26th July, 1962:



"...The real problem of Kashmir is whether it continues as a secular State as the rest of India or not. This effects the whole of India. Because secularism in India also has not got such firm foundation as I would like it to have. Anything happening in Kashmir will undoubtedly affect the rest of India with its vast Muslim population."

Prem Nath Bazaz, who had been working untiringly for the cause of Pakistan later on confessed:

"I have no hesitation in confessing that when independence was achieved, I believed there was no alternative for the State but to accede to Pakistan. Influenced by subsequent developments, my views have undergone a change... If the Kashmir Valley falls to Pakistan, the forces of disruption in India will overwhelm the country. Therefore, the safety lies in maintaining the cease-fire line as it is, indeed it has be transformed into an international boundary".

This point has gained supremacy after the current insurgency in Kashmir took a dangerous turn. Some persons in authority felt it necessary to remind Pakistan that she too had a stake in India's present nationhood. The soft-spoken suave and liberal socialist and a secularist by conviction, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, in his capacity as the Prime Minister of India, said in an interview with Mr. Chiragi, Editor of the Urdu Daily "Qaumi Awaz", New Delhi:

"On Kashmir, the Prime Minister said that Kashmir was a symbol of Indian secularism and "If for any reason we are unable to retain it, it would mean end of our secular image; We cannot afford to lose Kashmir", he said."

Mr Chandra Shekher was reported to have emphasized this point personally to Mr Nawaz Sharif the then Prime Minister of Pakistan when the two had met in Male where they had arrived for the SAARC meeting. Kashmir's accession substantially influenced the framing of free India's Constitution. Four members from Kashmir including Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg were inducted into the Constituent Assembly immediately after accession. They took more than active part in its deliberations. Sir Bengal Narasimha Rao was the Advisor to the Constituent Assembly. He had earlier been the Prime Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State and had personal equation with both Abdullah and Afzal Beg. Through his good offices Abdullah and Afzal Beg called on Dr B. R. Ambedkar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer and other members of the Drafting Commit-



tee on several occasions. Their active lobbying and frenzied euphoria, which was created around Abdullah for his loud statements condemning Pakistan and praising India and its people, resulted in the inclusion of many pro-minority, which in fact, meant pro-Muslim provisions in the Constitution. The strategy was that if the Drafting Committee proposed a certain clause or sub-clause, Nehru and his supporters would ensure its safe passage in the House.

It is regrettable and tragic that the Musalmans of India have not shown any concern for religious cleansing of miniscule Hindu minority from Kashmir. On the contrary they have shown full inclination towards Kashmiri Muslim separatists and terrorists. Distinguished media persons have been abetting the cause of secessionists. No Muslim ever commented on the murder of prominent Hindu leaders and other innocent Hindus in Kashmir. Abduction and rape of Hindu women, burning and looting of houses and destruction and desecration of Hindu places of worship have gone totally unnoticed by the Muslims. There was comment on only one or two murders in Kashmir. Professor Mashirul Haq and Moulvi Farooq. But here too it was not the killers who were condemned but emphasis was laid on the qualities of head and heart of the slain leaders and their scholarship of Islamic thought. In Kashmir, the fundamentalists forced members of the Hindu minority to come and join in the religious slogan shouting. Has anybody condemned this? Suppose some hot-headed Hindu apes this in some other part of the country what would be the reaction. The question mark is: Has Gandhi's ray of hope and light which came from Kashmir got extinguished? If the only state with Muslim majority secedes from India, the fate of secularism in India is not difficult to predict. Each one of us should see the writing on the wall. A Muslim leader of Gujarat, working in M.S. University, Vadodara wrote in the Times of India, New Delhi of December 20, 1992:

"... The tragedy of Kashmiri Pandits has been an essential factor in Hindu revulsion against all Muslims. Yet there is a ray of hope in Kashmir if there is anyone who can win back the Kashmiris, it is the Indian Muslims. A sustained effort must be made to explain to their co-religionists that their presence within the Indian Union, is of paramount importance to the functioning of secularism. Indian Muslims must go all out to sympathise with the Kashmiri Pandits. They have become homeless in their own country. I am sure the joint efforts of Kashmiri Pandits and of Indian Muslims, may, turn the tide in Kashmir." Have there been any takers for this appeal?



Partition of India, in fact, was the ultimate price Indians had to pay for the indiscriminate hospitality of their fore bears. However, painful, the logic of that partition, once accepted by our impatient leaders whose vision was blurred by the fashionable Marxist chimera. Having accepted the partition of United India on religious lines, these leaders were at pains to furnish their secular credentials. Their counterparts in newly-born Pakistan were more honest and followed the logic of the partition to the last man. In the heat and passion of political polemics and religious fanatic, the real issues at stake are forgotten and side-tracked in regard to Kashmir. All issues including the human issue are set aside and the issue of religion and "self-determination" based on religion is brought to the fore-front. Kashmir is presented as a Muslim majority area, which should, therefore, be merged with Islamic Pakistan or become a separate Islamic entity outside India. Those who propound this theory of Statehood based on religion are deliberately or inadvertently pushing over 100 million Muslims in India to a Position of Second class citizens. Kashmir problem is not one of real estate. It is not a territorial dispute but the birth right of people to stay in the land of their birth in safety and honour with due regard to the human and fundamental rights of individual liberty, freedom of faith and expression. These are being violated in a ghastly manner by terrorists trained in Pakistan, armed and financed by the Pakistan Government in the name of religion. Over three lakh Hindus, (men, women and children ) and also a few thousand Kashmiri Muslims have been driven out of their homes and forced to flee the land of their berth. Over five thousand innocent Hindus have been murdered by the terrorists in the last three and half years. All this is done in the name of religion by the fanatical Islamic fundamentalist organisations financed and instigated from outside India. Instead of exposing these atrocities and identify those sponsoring and operating this terror, the foreign media and our own human rightists only highlight and exaggerate action which the Indian security forces are compelled to take in order to suppress these terrorists.

Kashmir today is faced with tragedy the like of which was not seen even at the time of partition of India. Refugees from Pakistan at that time were accepted into India and settled by the Government. Some were settled on the lands and the buildings vacated by those who left for their own homeland for which they had been aspiring. The unfortunate refugees from Kashmir, who have been forced to flee from Kashmir have been left uncared for and ignored. The consequences of this neglect can be far-reaching--not only for India but also for Pakistan and the whole region. Leaders of Muslims in India and other countries do not seem to



have realised this real threat and looming disaster and have not raised their voice against this danger. On the contrary, Islamic countries have been indulging in the most dangerous game of supporting the secession of Kashmir from India. The organisation of Islamic countries passed a resolution on Kashmir against India at its meeting in Cairo in August, 1990, piloted by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Again, in 1991, O.I.C. at its Istanbul meeting passed a resolution on Kashmir. O.I.C. in its Conference at Dakar (Senegal) again criticised India. In September, 1992, O.I.C. Foreign Ministers again discussed Kashmir though meeting was called to discuss Bosnia. Within the country what happens? Hindu secularists and others are advising the Hindus what to do and what not to do. Why didn't they or even one of the Muslim leaders professing secularism tell the Muslims what was their duty in the face of horrendous crimes perpetrated on the microscopic minority of Kashmir?

It is meaningless to blame Muslim countries for India's plight. The fervour with which the Congress leaders, former Congress leaders who are distributed in various Dals and, of course, the left-over leftists, have been sporting the banner of "Islam in danger" right since the Khilafat days, with ever more tragic consequences for the country is amazing indeed. From Gandhi's all out support to the tottering Sultanate of Turkey to minority Narsimha Rao Government's decision upholding the August 15, 1947 status of religious places including the most irreligious ones converted from Hindu temples by foreign tyrants to humiliate the Hindu race, the story is the same. It is most tragic that India's Government, most political parties and, of course the "kept" press do not realise the grave threat which India is likely to be subjected to from the Muslim fundamentalists of the entire sub-continent. The Government does not even know how many million nationals of Bangladesh are living in this country enjoying hospitality of secular India. In the December 1992 riots in Delhi it could be these elements who shouted anti-India slogans and attacked police in North-East Delhi. As per media reports, mass killings have been perpetuated by Bangladeshi Muslims (infiltrators) in Assam. India's secular leaders have not spoken a word of sympathy for these unfortunate victims. One wonders whether the secular leadership having lost the faith of Hindus is aiming at importing the voters and changing the demographic structure of society and leave these foreigners to loot and murder and destroy places of worship. Reports indicate that most of them have been found indulging in crimes. A deep probe into 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi would perhaps bring out startling revelations that these infiltrators were very much involved in looting and plundering the property of their mentors. Since 1947, 'Secularism' has been treated as a sophisticated technique for



advancing the cause of Islam. This 'secularism' has succeeded in turning India into a zone of Islamic influence, if not an Islamic State. The next phase of this 'secular treachery' is to insist on the Government for adequate representation to Muslims many among whom would be the infiltrators from Bangladesh, in police and para-military forces and the final phase to spark off a country-wide turmoil on one pretext or another or no pretext at all. The support from two theocratic States on both sides is a foregone conclusion. The behaviour of the Muslims and Government of Bangladesh towards the end of December, 1992 should dispel any doubts about its intentions. During the visit of Indian Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narsimha Rao to Dhaka for the SAARC summit meeting on 11th of April, 1993, Indian tricolour flag was burnt at road crossings without any action or remorse from the Government. They thought it more than enough if they could succeed in giving personal security to the Indian Prime Minister. For them Indian flag is not worth the cloth it is made of. What is the value of the sentiments of 80 crore people of India? After all, have they not been struck by the secular stroke? Indians have been made to forget the wise sayings of their fore-fathers because that will breed 'communalism'. But the people of India should at least abide by the wisdom of a French philosopher, Rousseau who has said: "The strongest is never strong enough to be always master, unless he transforms his might into right".

If the recovery of weapons and deadly RDX explosives in Bombay and other places in Maharashtra, extraordinary bomb blasts in Bombay, Calcutta and other places, involvement of men and women of the film industry of Bombay and the attitude of some Muslim leaders is any indication, they are already preparing for a civil war under a calculated plan. There are alarming reports that sophisticated lethal weapons have been smuggled in and have been stored at various places in the country and the smuggling of explosive material and armaments is a continuous process through the shores of entire coastline of Gujarat, Maharashtra and beyond upto the Kerala coast. These consignments are not only coming from Pakistan but also from Arab and African countries. Pakistan has realised that a direct war with India will recoil on her. Pak strategists have, therefore thought of destabilising India by exporting internal unrest followed by a media war, diplomatic offensive and distortion of history to divide a great nation and to present Hinduism and Hindu mentality in poor light. In an interview on June, 15, 1966 in Karachi, the then Pakistan Foreign Minister, the late Z.A. Buttou said: "Hindu culture was determined to devour Islamic culture". He also hinted that "Pakistan was passing through phase of history and will have to take a more critical decision



very shortly". The "critical" decision was taken in consultation with some fundamentalist Islamic regimes in the middle East and the fast-emerging Islamic movement, which provided enormous funds to Pakistan for an Islamic nuclear bomb. And thus armed with the promise of ideological, monetary and muscle support from Islamic fraternity, a movement was launched to dismember India. The Movement, inter alia, aimed at: (1) stepping up terrorist activities in Kashmir, (2) weaning away the Sikhs (the main obstacle in Islamic expansion) from the national mainstream and weaken the country; (3) Reviving Muslim League strategy of alluring Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to the Islamic fold by reminding them of the 'atrocities' committed by Brahmins, (4) creating a wedge between Hindus and Buddhists by distorting historical facts (5) Buying out politicians, mediamen and historians to discredit Hindu organisations and distort history, (6) Organising planned infiltration of (Bangladeshi Muslims) by temptation of their votes to the Congress and leftists and (7) with the help of contacts in India and Gulf money, to (a) build mosques and Madrasas so as to turn them into arsenals at the appropriate time, (b) convert non-Muslims particularly poorer sections by temptation of money and material benefit, (c) discourage Muslim women from taking to higher education and mixing with social elite, (d) oppose family planning to outnumber non-Muslim population, (e) Finance violent agitations and training saboteurs (f) condemn moderate Muslim leaders (who preach tolerance and mutual co-operation with the Hindu population, (g) Provoke riots and damage India's image in the countries of West Asia and other parts of the World. The flow of petro-dollars continues unabated in a clandestine manner in spite of Government restrictions. A probe in regard to sharing and utilisation of this money would perhaps bring out startling disclosures. The possibility of some top Jaichands and Mir Jafars being the beneficiaries cannot be ruled out. The Milli (Muslim) parliament of India, which held its meeting on 22nd and 23rd May, 1993 in New Delhi under the leadership of Rashid Shaz is reported to have decided to seek membership of the organisation of Islamic countries. A resolution against India for so-called violation of human rights in Kashmir was also passed. Through another resolution, Muslims were directed to carry arms and contribute ten per cent of their income towards a defence fund.

Pakistan has intensified its campaign to further internationalise the Kashmir problem. Pakistani delegates attending any international meet on any subject ranging from mosquito menace to space satellites are duty-bound to reiterate Pakistan's claim to Kashmir and to attack India for having frustrated its repeated attempts to annex it through overt and



covert force. Pakistani delegation performed this primary duty in the Conference of Inter-Parliamentary Union which was held in New Delhi from 12th April, 1993. And this time since the Pakistani delegates were in the capital of India, its chief delegates, Gohar Ayub Khan (who is the son of Pakistani dictator late Ayub Khan) expressed his firm opinion that India would disintegrate into many States soon. Pakistan has also a handpicked forum, the Organisation of Islamic countries, which has its Sectarariat in Saudi Arabia. This Secretariat has all along indulged in anti-Indian mischief at the behest of Pakistan. Have the other Members of OIC ever bothered to check constant manipulation of the OIC Secretariat by Pakistan for its own ulterior purposes? Obviously they have not, as was indicated by OICs attempt to send a so called fact-finding mission to Kashmir early in 1993. Does it not hurt their sense of self-respect that one Member of their organisation has been using them almost routinely as its pawns ? Most Member-countries of OIC have no experience of democratic politics and so may be unaware of the clout the Indian Press, or for that matter the free press of any other democratic county wields. In that case their Missions in India are free to enlighten them about what Indian press says about Kashmir. Why do these countries have to send their representatives in Islamic attire for gaining such knowledge? Visitors holding the OIC banner are bound to be looked upon in this country as nothing but Pakistani agents. Since OIC secretariat has functioned most of the time as almost of a subordinate of the Pakistani Foreign office, the formal request by the Secretariat for the Visas for the intending visitors was a manipulation by Pakistan. The OIC must be told in no uncertain terms not to try and dabble in India's internal problems. Kashmir is one such issue. It is Pakistan which first gave it a religious complexion and then sought to depict it as an unsettled international conflict. It is neither and it is hard to think that members of OIC are unable to see through the Pakistan game. Pakistan has failed to get international support for its design on Kashmir. It tried to grab it first through wars and than by fomenting subversion and terrorism in that part of India. It failed. That is why its trick has been to make as much international noise as possible about alleged human rights abuse in Kashmir. This is nothing but the same old attempt, but in a new guise to keep the Kashmir issue alive.

Why Muslim countries, particularly of the Middle East, should try and brow beat India to support any cause involving Muslims anywhere in the world whether it be the Sulman Rushdie affair, ethnic strike between Serbs, Broats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, local uprising by Palestinian terrorist and Lehanese fundamentalist outfits, even our rela-



tion with Israel, each time the story is the same. The Shaky civil war-stricken Afghanistan had the temerity to threaten us followed by OIC and G.C.C. , condemning India for discrimination against Muslims. The Indian students allowed by our own Government to study in Iran leading demonstrations against us, and to top it all, Imam Bukhari and the likes (as proclaimed Indians) formally meeting and complaining to the Muslims Ambassadors including that of Pakistan. India must take principled and stern stand against such pressure tactics of international blackmail, bluster and blatant meddling. Internally permitting acts which sully our reputation must be immediately stopped by making it clear that our country's national interests are paramount and ensuring that their disregard are strictly dealt with. Kashmir is the litmus test of secularism, as far as Muslims of India are concerned. Have they taken any combined steps to counter the jihad being fought by Muslim organisations in Kashmir, which is a negation of secularism and may cause serious problems for the Muslims of India ? Kashmir is critical part of India's nationhood. Pakistan or Kashmiri terrorists can win Kashmir only when India loses it and if the latter happens, India will lose secularism and ten crore Muslims in India will in a minute, become citizens and nationals of Pakistan domiciled in India.

Pakistan has now completely controlled the Organisation of Islamic countries. It hosted the 21st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Karachi on 25th April, 1993. This was Pakistan's strategy to counter any move by the U.S. to declare it as a terrorist State. The resolutions passed and views taken at the 51 member conference indicated a significant advance by Pakistan in gaining ground in Islamic world against India. The O.I.C. has now firmly turned against India. The plain fact is that Kashmir is now openly considered to be a vital Islamic issue. In an address to a joint session of Pakistan's Parliament on September 7, 1992, the Iranian President, Hojatoleslam Hashmi Ali Akbar Rafsanjani has declared Kashmir an Islamic issue. Pan-Islamism is a subversive doctrine. The ideology behind Pan-Islamic country on a non-Islamic one, Kashmir being the best-known instance. Pan-Islamism has come to fore as an instrument of destabilisation or separation.

In reality, there is not a single instance when any Arab or Islamic country has supported India against Pakistan in the United Nations. During India-Pak wars and conflicts these countries always took the side of Pakistan.

*"When everyone calls you an ass, it is time to bray".*



## Chapter 9

### Ekta Yatra

"When the going gets tough, tough get going".

There has been a marked apathy in many parts of the country about the most serious threat to the national existence and territorial integrity of the country. There are many instances in the history of this country when historic battles were being fought, people in many areas stood aloof, thinking that they were far away and safe. What happened? The entire country was enslaved for centuries. There has been a perceptible threat to the cultural ethos of the country in the form of persistent misinterpretations and confusions distortions of history as also by persistent vacillations and this had led to a polarisation process, the concept of nationalism on the one hand and that of free-for-all-ism on the other. The concept of nationalism is unique inasmuch as it is not political but views the country and its people in a mother-son relationship, taking pride in and having reverence for country's ancient national heritage. This pride and reverence is a must so as to be called a nationalist. All citizens of the country to whichever region or religion, caste or language group they may belong, must take pride in and share this common heritage.

The President of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Dr Murli Manohar Joshi announced that he would begin his "Yatra" from Kanya Kumari with the National flag and after covering various parts of the country, terminate it at Srinagar ( Kashmir ) on 26th January, 1992 by hoisting the National flag at Lal Chowk on that Republic Day. There is a great emotional upsurge when one mentions Kashmir and Kanya Kumari together. As regards the motives of the Yatra, it was intended to give a clear and loud signal that every part of India and the whole country is determined to defeat the evil designs of those people who subscribe to the right of self-determination, or right to secession, do not regard national integrity as substance of their faith and say that nationhood and citizenship is not based on cultural ethos or psyche of the people-- by combating terrorism and secessionism. This yatra was named as "Ekta Yatra" (Unity march). The Ekta Yatra was geared to link the psyche of the



people to nationhood, the essence of which is a sense of belonging in a mother-son relationship between the land and its people with one culture in the country. The evil in our country is that nationalism is deemed to be based on political links and not cultural links between the land and its people. For ensuring social programmes, rising above the smaller pulls of region, religion, language, caste and community and taking the national interest as the touchstone is the only guarantee. If our country has been successful in surviving as a nation despite invasions and effects of slavery, It is not because of political or other such factors but due to the "Sanskriti" based on "Sanskaras" that people have been imbibing as part of their educative process. These 'Sanskaras' have been inculcated in the people through the ages by means of Yatras, festivals and fairs. For national survival, mere physical power is not enough. As Napoleon has put it, moral is to the physical as three is to one.

Ekta Yatra was to be seen in the context by which the positive concept of nationhood, is imbibed in the people. That resultantly would curb the threats of terrorist and subversive forces and help in harnessing people's energies in the direction of social progress and motivating people in evolving an indigenous model methodology and mechanism for the task of ushering in peace and prosperity in the country. The Ekta Yatra began on December 12, 1991 from Kanya Kumari with a simple and solemn ceremony wherein the National Flag was entrusted to Dr Joshi by the brother of martyr Bhagat Singh and the son of martyr Havildar Abdul Hameed, for hoisting at Lal Chowk, Srinagar. The Yatra got tremendous ovation and enthusiastic welcome from wherever it passed throughout the country. As per programme, Dr Joshi hoisted the Flag at Lal Chowk, Srinagar at 08-55 a.m. on 26th January 1992 (Republic Day).

The Yatra was intended to revive the feeling of patriotism among the people all over the country. The momentous response it received in States of Kerala, Karnataka, Orissa, etc., demolished the contention by some that the Kashmir problem does not move the people living in far-flung areas of the country. It was surprising that some held that the Ekta Yatra's campaign for national unity would provoke the Muslims of the country. How did these gentle persons presume that the Muslims of India were not interested in the national unity? These politicians were deliberately maligning the Muslims of this country and misleading the world at large. The opponents of the Yatra suppressed the fact that year after year the fundamentalists and Pakistani saboteurs were burning and desecrating the National Flag unchallenged in Kashmir and that on every August 14, the foundation day of Pakistan, Pakistani flag used to be hoisted



there. They suppressed the fact that 43 years of Article 370 could not integrate Kashmir with India and today even the average Kashmiri is forced to acquiesce to the command of the Pakistani agents at gunpoint. These parties and groups swear by the permanence of the Article even though its framers had themselves meant it to be a temporary arrangement. The situation in Kashmir demands a national resolve to fight secessionism and terrorism at its root and establish the authority of the State. Any weak-kneed response will only encourage similar fissiparous tendencies in the rest of the country. There is need for a complete break from the policies pursued all these years and the clearer appreciation of the fundamentals of the Indian nationhood.

Those who criticised the Ekta Yatra consider the Indian Union as a convenient contract on the model of a joint stock company. They believe that a nation can be built purely on the basis of economic interests and material gains. They are eager to predict the break-up of the Indian Union on the lines of the Soviet Union. But they forget that the Soviet Union disintegrated because the only cementing factors there were materialism and brute force. The Ekta Yatra tried to inculcate a spiritual and emotional relationship with the land and the people, a mother-son relationship as beautifully reflected in the song "Vande Mataram". We have a situation in the Kashmir Valley whereby the security of the country is threatened. both democracy and secularism have been endangered. The situation in the Valley indicates that supremacy is being gained by those who want to secede from the country. Our civil libertarians have been playing a curious role of demoralising the security forces, which are trying to retrieve the situation. When the symbols of National identity were being assaulted in the Valley, the hoisting of the National Flag on Republic Day at an open place like Lal Chowk did send a signal and a message to those who pressed for secession. We have seen enough of political blackmail in Kashmir. That was the time to declare that the politics of blackmail would not be accepted. The mistakes of the past can be rectified not by the national kneeling down but by the national determination to treat Kashmir unequivocally an integral part of India. The Ekta Yatra sought to mobilise public opinion in support of the national perspective on the question of separatism and terrorism. The Ekta Yatra focused primarily on the Kashmir issue. The right of Dr Joshi and his Party to politically educate the people of India of their view point and to develop a national mood to fight terrorism was unexceptionable. The Ekta Yatra exposed all those who have been supporting the weak and stop-gap policies for tackling the problems of separatism and terror-



ism. It sought to expose the damage that the policies of various Governments in the past four and a half decades have done to the Kashmir Valley.

The "kept" press, particularly of the British parentage, which is now in country's elite hands, decided to publish that the Yatra was a failure. Since then they have been referring to it as "abortive" Yatra. Was it really so? What were the ground realities? That just unfurling the National Flag in a city within our country required to be made of such a substantial campaign that the day for it was to be done, the very senior and top police officers, who were overseeing arrangements for the unfurling, were all but blown, that Dr Joshi and others had to be told to leave their colleagues on the road near Udhampur; That they had to be airlifted to Srinagar in a special Airforce plane under an operational arrangement operated by the Northern Command of the Army at Udhampur; that in Srinagar they could be kept only in a distant isolated, sealed off camp of the Border Security Force, that throughout the night secessionists could keep up gun-fire as a reminder of their sway; that the entire city had to be put under curfew for three days; that two of the most powerful symbols carried by Dr Joshi--urns containing the waters of our rivers and the soil from the different States--had to be left behind, that eventually only seventy out of thousands wanting to join, could be present at Lal Chowk; that each of them had to be taken to the place under armed escort; that in the end, the ceremony could be held only under such heavy guard; that even then there was not time enough nor peace enough to have the flag-hoisting ceremony for a longer period as the occasion required; that the ceremony done with, everyone concerned had to be immediately taken out of Srinagar---- all this proved the point for which the Yatra had been undertaken. The point that we have allowed Kashmir to be usurped. That in the most literal sense the State has to be retrieved.

The Government and majority of people have wanted not to face this fact. The country has wanted to believe that "things" are not all that "bad", that "India has survived for thousands of years, it will survive these troubles also". The last scene of the Yatra showed that situation is much worse than one permits himself to imagine. They reminded us too that India did not "survive for thousands of years" any more than a woman overpowered and being gangraped and badgered unconscious "survives". The Yatra demonstrated that the crown of the country has, in fact, been hacked out of its reach, even as we are still pre-occupied with pretty jostling. The Ekta Yatra was an attempt to lift the people out of these petty preoccupations, an attempt to restore a sense of proportion to the coun-



try. For forty-five days it made Kashmir the subject of debate and discourse in the country -- many did not agree with the solution Dr Joshi was proposing, many did not agree with the vehicle he had chosen, for focusing the attention of the country on the question. But for the first time Kashmir and what should be done about it, became the topic of earnest deliberations all over. That the people in the south, in Ahmedabad, in orissa were jolted into focusing on the question was in itself an achievement of the first magnitude. The inability of the entire Yatra even with the help of State apparatus to reach Srinagar proved the point completely. It showed that how totally adverse the situation in the field was. Even till the last day the authorities in Delhi and Jammu were debating whether fifty thousand or five hundred should be allowed to proceed to Srinagar. It was only the final stage which revealed reality: None of the columnists who keep on writing week after week with their "first-hand knowledge", had realised what the situation really was.

It also showed the condition under which the security forces -- whom it is a fashion to deride--are holding the Valley for the country. The flag had to be hoisted precisely because those were the condition in the Valley. That was why the security forces were as determined to see that the flag should be hoisted in Lal Chowk as the sponsors of the Yatra. They knew the importance of the symbols far better than distant journalist can know. That was why Delhi having washed its hands of the matter and having "left the decision to the State administration", the security forces spared no effort to assist Dr Joshi and his companions. That is why from Jammu they could be seen cheering the buses onwards. Here it appears very very necessary to emphasise that if there is anything going right in the secessionist war, it is just grit and efficiency and discipline of the Defence and para-military forces working in hostile and inhospitable terrains under immense physical and mental stress, they safeguard the integrity of the Nation unmindful of the otherwise dismal circumstances and dark times prevailing in the area. For the security forces carrying out a fight against terrorism, it is improvisation and adaptation to unwritten rules laid down by the terrorists. And the deadly game is a no holds barred one; The terrorists have the advantage of surprise.

The "kept" press lamented: "Not a single local from Srinagar came for unfurling and did that not show how much alienation the yatra caused", No local Kashmiri came to the function because while the Yatris were going to leave after the ceremony, he was to stay back, and the terrorists would not have spared him. But assuming that unfurling of the country's flag offends thousands, is it not to be unfurled then ? The



usurpation of Assam by foreigners is not to be talked about as doing so will offend some. The country's flag is not to be unfurled as doing so will offend some. Infiltrators have not to be deported back as doing so will offend some. National song is not to be sung as it will offend some. Population control is not applied fully as it will offend some. It is this presumptions, this mind-set that persons whose politics is separateness, whose aim in Kashmir is to break the country, that they can be cajoled into abandoning their aim by our taking care not to offend them, this presumptions is folly. If everyone in Kashmir Valley has taken offence, then the case for changing the composition of the population by opening the State to the rest of the country is made completely.

The forty-five day long Ekta Yatra was totally blacked out by the Doordarshan and AIR though the cause itself was that of upholding national unity and the honour of National Flag. So, the event of hoisting of National Flag at the historic Lal Chowk in Srinagar on the Republic Day, after many years of the burning rituals by pro-Paki hoodlums, was not shown on T.V. But the same "Doordarshan" had on numerous occasions shown Kashmiri terrorists and Pak Stooges waving Pakistani flags, JKLF flags. For three successive days from 13th December, 1989 onwards the "Doordarshan" showed long clipping of the terrorists in Kashmir hold victory processions, showing victory signs, carrying Pakistani and JKLF flags after exchange of terrorists for the release of the then Home minister's daughter. Kamleshwar's presentation of terrorists as "Sataye huye loag" was pre-announced repeatedly to make the viewers receptive. What Dr Joshi hoisted is Srinagar with the help of Indian security forces was India's National Flag. But the doordarshan did not find it decent enough to be shown on national hook-up even when the entire Nation's eyes were riveted on it to see the exhilarating scene. People must at the earliest opportunity demand to know from those who are at the helm as to where do the loyalties of India's national electronic media lie. In the reshuffle of his cabinet in January, 1993, the Prime Minister removed a Cabinet Minister on the charge of disloyalty to him personally. The people of India will have to consider, whenever the opportunity presents itself, the issue of disloyalty and show the door to those who may have proved disloyal to the interest of the Nation.

Whenever the "kept" press refers to the yatra even now, they put an adjective "abortive" to it or call it a "flop". Charges were made that the Yatra was ill-conceived, that it was a gimmick to capture votes, that it was provocative and that it was merely symbolic. One paper accused Dr Joshi of "double-speak". One senior journalist described the Yatra as journey from "nowhere to nowhere". One paper advised Dr Joshi to "end the



facre now". When the Yatra was over with Dr Joshi hoisting the flag as per his pledge yet another paper called it a "hollow triumph". But not a single paper took the trouble to provide a solution to the crisis except, of course, the solution of handing over the Valley to Pakistan directly or through some hoodlums. In a letter signed by thirteen "intellectuals", among whom can be mentioned permanent fixtures like Mulk Raj Anand and P.N. Haksar, it was made out that "this Yatra like the one before it, is bound to further damage the fabric of India's unity". The point was also made that India's sovereignty over Kashmir "has never been in doubt and does not need to be re-established in this crude fashion." "crude", wonderful. And in what other fashion, apart from flying this flag at Lal Chowk would our "intellectuals" have shown that India's sovereignty has never been in doubt? Does it require any proof to say that the Government of India's writ hardly runs in Kashmir? Government's activity is confined to providing funds to terrorists. Whom have these "intellectuals" been fooling? Government has tried every possibility to get the Kashmir terrorists to the negotiating table. It has failed. It has been repeatedly said by Pakistani spokes--persons that Pakistan wants to settle the issue on its own terms. If we are not to abide by those terms, then what are we talking about? The truth about the matter is that the Government of India has no answer, nor have our "intellectuals". It was not known why only 13 "intellectuals" were picked up for signing the letter. There are numerous professionals, retired Government officers senior media persons, who have made name for themselves and money for their successive generations, on account of Establishment's generosity. These names don't mean anything when they are used to defend government stand, policy, action or attitude.

The hardest fact is that Pakistan is not amenable to peaceful path and that its order for jihad has reached the highest pitch even as secular stroke has paralysed India's political will. The result is that the former Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif had a cheek to tell us on our own soil that it was in India's interest to solve the Kashmir problem, to Pakistan's satisfaction, of course. India can do nothing except to make noise, even when Pakistan is bleeding it profusely. Talks have yielded nothing, war is said to be out of question. Attacks on terrorist training camps have been ruled out. So what is the remedy -- get raped again and again by the Islamic crusaders. Only befogged and paralysed mind can think there is no way to turn tables on the bloated bully. A little free hand to our armed forces and determination to exploit enemy's internal contradiction can smash its rickety structure to pieces. Victory has no substitute. Nail-biting drama will achieve nothing.



The Ekta Yatra has up-held and promised by ideology, reason and impulse a strong unified nation. Strong integrated nation where equality is for all and where none is more equal than the other by creed or caste, except that the poor be uplifted. Its most precious gift to the nation was, however, the awakening of the sleeping giant of the overwhelming majority into a vibrant nationalist force. No longer will this immense force allow itself to be manipulated, fooled and tricked or taken for granted. And all patriotic Indians of whatever faith and station will open their eyes to the harsh actualities and refuse to be led to mirages in the mirror by those who are hooked to power with which they have played for decades in different incarnations of convenience. They are bitten by the bug of political ambition and their mind always revolves round elections. India's all the "secular" parties are on the cross-roads. If these parties still seek to retain their "secularism" in India, they must put an end to the Muslim communalism which has ravaged Kashmir during the last four decades. Secularism cannot apply one law for the preservation of religious shrines in rest of India and the other in Kashmir where more than two hundred temples have disappeared during the last four and a half decades. They cannot recognise the vested interest of the Muslim majority in Kashmir and cry hoarse for secular equality in the rest of India.

The Ekta Yatra has provided a cause to the people of India to do an honest introspection so that they can resolutely chart out a new course to ensure that they exist and continue to live in their homes safely. The double think and double talk of pseudo-secularists can no longer dupe the people of India. What a wonder, even the communists, who have never got tired to say that only their ism is panacea for all ills, give us sermons loudly and repeatedly as to what real Hinduism is. The Yatra has made them to understand and understand thoroughly well that Indians understand their Hinduism. But they also want to make it clear that Hinduism is not for self-destruction. Hinduism has been wiped out from its finest abodes of West Punjab, Sind, Bluchistan, N.W.F.P. and now Kashmir Valley. Lahore was one of the finest centers of Hindu culture and religion. Kashmir Valley had Hinduism from the day Vedas emerged on earth. Do the pseudo secularists want this process to spread unabated in the rest of the country till Hinduism is completely wiped out and in the meantime we go on chanting the real meaning of Hinduism and its real non-communal character. The treachery which Shahabuddin Ghorri inflicted on the straight-forward Hindu, Prithvi Raj Chauhan can never be forgotten by Indians. Dharam Raksha has priority over Dharam Samiksha. This is the bitter lesson the Hindus of Kashmir Valley have learnt. World has yet to see any community which is more secular than the



community of Kashmiri Pandits the original natives of Valley of Kashmir. All of them, 7 lakh (4 lakhs earlier and 3 lakhs since 1990) have been banished from their centuries old ancestral abodes for their sin of having Hinduism as their religion. What have those enlightened souls done for them, who appear on the Doordarshan to give lessons on Vedanta and "real" Hinduism? Swami Ram Tirath, who has been one of the finest interpreters of Hinduism, saw God in every man, women and child irrespective of their religious beliefs. He saw God in snakes, animals and birds. He embraced snakes calling them 'Krishna'. He sang:

*"Nij de maze ke khatir gul chhod hi diye jab  
Roye zamin de gulshan merey hi ban gaye sab"*

He studied in Lahore, he lived in Lahore. He preached in Lahore. He was born in Gujranwala where also Bhai Mati Das and Bhai Parmanand were born. Is any trace of Hinduism left there? This happened only 45 years back, in this scientific age of modern world. Kashmiri Pandits had been suffering from the same myopia which has inflicted the pseudo-secularists in the rest of India. Along with their banishment from the place which was their home ever since human race appeared or pre-historic period, they have also witnessed the naked exposure of the hollowness of the secular nationalistic and egalitarian professions of politicians and political parties. The "progressive" theoreticians who are now biting dust in the streets of Jammu get frightened even with shadows of their erstwhile Muslim friends and comrades. Their whole time is spent in collecting crumbs for their mere survival. It had become quite a fashion to talk about "Sufism" which could bring peace, harmony and brotherhood. But it has been discovered by the terribly "progressive" Kashmiri Pandits of the Kashmir Valley, that Muslims, without exception, have no use for "sufism". It is considered totally counter to Islamic shariat, as it teaches renunciation of active life. Maulana Azad had also denounced "Sufism" as it teaches dissent from Islam. It was a unilateral slogan of Kashmiri Pandits.

The Government has abysmally failed in its constitutional duty to guarantee the right to life of a miniscule minority. When a delapidated and disputed structure was demolished, the Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao mourned and lamented that the Constitution stands shattered. But when in the Kashmir Valley, five thousand Hindus were brutally murdered their women-folk, abducted gang-raped and killed, three lakh hounded out and thousands of their houses burnt, for the Prime Minister and the Government, the Constitution of India stayed erect and majestic. What has happened to the Hindus in Kashmir has not yet penetrated the thick



skulls of "secular" leaders and greedy "careerists" labelling themselves as "progressives" and "liberals". Thanks to the Ekta Yatra, the problems of Hindu refugees from Kashmir are understandable to the man in the street whose commonsense is not blurred by pseudo-theoretical non-sense. Through the saddest experience in Kashmir the people of India have learnt that however big a nation might be, it cannot protect its people, scattered in the various corners of the country, unless it has a brave and best equipped army, a determined and the most sacrificing people and a vigorous and the most resolute Government. The tragic situation in Kashmir has been reduced to the problem between the Government and the terrorists where in it is assured that Kashmiri Hindu has no say. No one is bothered about the very survival of this community. There always prevailed the step-motherly attitude towards the community. In spite of having no say in the affairs of Kashmir, the community was branded as agents of Indian Government. While the State Government treated them as unwanted intruders, the Central Government showed total indifference towards them. The fault of the community was that it had dared to cling to the Hindu faith and it loved its homeland.

The Ekta Yatra has fully revealed at least to the Kashmiri Pandits themselves that the singular passion of Congress and other "secular" groups and parties is to grab power at any cost to the country and its people. Indeed, the enormity of their irresponsibility can be compared only to the losing gambler whose mindless staking increases with the loss of each reckless stake. Kashmir Hindus who have been hunted out of their homes empty-handed and in utter misery figure nowhere in the calculations of the political parties and "national" leaders. even during the campaigning for 1991 General Elections when the leaders roamed the country with unmanageable hurriedly assembled packages of incongruous promises to throw at various groups beyond their wildest dreams and credulity, the unfortunate Hindus were kicked aside. They did not make even a whiff of a reference to "migrants" untold misfortunes which are none of their making. They were too busy to listen to or look at the "migrants" physical and mental sufference and blatant denial of their tights as Indian citizens. The same parties and leaders had not a breath of sympathy for the Kashmiri Pandits community which was passing through the extremes 'oppression', merciless mass killing and exodus and the unending trauma which all will form the blackest chapter in free India's history. Their manifestoes did not even have a passing mention, which could have meant a lot of hope and relief to the distressed people. These political parties have also shied away from spelling out the unambiguous, clear pragmatic Kashmir policy. In the maddening din of elections for run



up to power, it was sickening to see each of the other major parties pre-occupied exclusively in accusing all the rest of dividing the country on communal and cast lines, or causing instability, of which ironically it was itself a principle culprit. These parties offer everything to the communal and caste vote banks, so well-nurtured by power wolves, and hand a carte blanche to a popous pretender pontiff without a thought of its consequences. The "intellectuals" do not care for three lakh Kashmiri Hindu refugees but instead have been making all efforts to justify what has been done to them. When temples were razed in Kashmir, no voices either from the Press, the society, the Government or the intelligentsia were heard. The most important urgent question arising out of the banishment of these natives of Kashmir remains unanswered. It is as if authorities are too scared to answer it for fear that there is no answer left. No amount of alarms, spilled blood of the innocent and devastation of peace loving populace has been enough so far, nor may it be so even now, to awaken their conscience and open their minds and eyes to the spectre of destruction of the J&K State and the inevitable disintegration of the nation. The worst sufferers of this tragedy are Hindus of Kashmir. Three and a half years have gone and they are still looking for a place under the Sun for themselves. Looking for a home away from home. Does a place like that ever exist? For the ruling party and its other so-called "secular" cohorts, politics is the art of trading in miseries of these unfortunate people. Their assurances to Kashmiri Hindu refugees appear to be like a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank. The self styled paragons of secular virtues are in the fore-front of the predatory urge for mayhem in their single minded pursuit of creating their vote banks. Their denunciation of the demolition at Ayodhya is in striking contrast to their deafening silence over the destruction of temples in Kashmir and the banishment of Hindu minority from the Valley by the religious fanatics.

The Kashmiri displaced people were left aside, forgotten, condemned and about to be thrown in the dustbin of history. The Muslim fundamentalists, pseudo-secularists and political power brokers have been working on their plans for the liquidation of this original community from Kashmir. The total apathy of the rest of the people of India to the miseries of the Hindus from Kashmir had dried up their confidence and will to exist. It is true that Kashmir could not escape responding empathetically to the impulses of growth or decay that fell to the lot of the vast Hindu society of the sub-continent. Every weakness or strength of Bharat constituted a death or life impulse to the Hindu society in Kashmir. As a result of Bharat's subjugation under Muslim and the British rule, Kashmiri Hindu also began losing his grip and initiative in life. His role shrank to mere



struggle for existence against those whom he never made enemies of or posed any impediment or threat to them. He was caught in a whirlpool, and finding himself helpless, he found it easier to flow with the current--this attitude made him shrink into himself and weave a self-deceiving and poisoning cocoon of a pronounced self-centered life goals. But even with these limitations, he held aloft at least torch of his culture, religion and learning in these Himalayan ranges at great personal sacrifice even though his numbers reduced to a few families at one time because of mass slaughter, forcible conversion and persecution. However, they could not ignore their follies of the past and fallacies being brandied about the present except at their peril. It is imperative that they keep their thinking clear and straight and expel all that leads to confusion and illusion. In the years since independence, they had overlooked and lost all the perspectives of the ground realities and the vulnerability in which they were placed. Shakespeare has said: "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at a flood leads on to fortune. Avoided once, the voyage is bound in shallows and in miseries." So it became essential to catch the right tide. Courage is not simply the absence of fear but the ability to express one self and carry on with dignity.

When an illustrious son of Bharat Mata, himself hailing from the Himalayas, at the head of the galaxy of distinguished men and women wholly devoted to the cause of Mother India, arrived in Shree Nagar (the city of Lakshmi and Saraswati) to take over the responsibility of hoisting the National Flag, it was the commitment of the entire Bharat that the Valley of Kashmir is an unalienable, unbreakable and an essential limb of Motherland. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi not only unfurled the National flag at Lal chowk, he also offered respectful salute to the Kashmiri Pandits, an important section of the Aryan race, for keeping aloft on these Himalayan heights, in the face of heavy odds, the proud traditions of Rishis of yore.

Kashmiri Pandits have shown commendable fore-bearance and dignity even in their worst adversity and they sure have survived even if in destitution. The sin and shame of that is surely and squarely on those who have brought it on them and those who have been responsible to prolong it. And they will pay for it. From time to time these Hindus have been persecuted by the fanatics and barbarians, yet they have risen in greater glory again and again. And so shall it be this time. After their mass exodus in the 14 th century, they simply longed for their return to the vale and in the vale during Zain-ul-Abedin's reign, they secured religious, educational and cultural freedom. What was their urge to return? It can be called "Return to the Roots". Kashmir symbolises their existence, the



civilization, the spirits, which had and has a purpose and it cannot be wished away. During all this turmoil, the Kashmiri Pandit did not change drastically and in the present turbulence also does not appear to have done so. He kept his wit and humour, his scholarship and divine pursuits. For him these tribulations, these calamities were and still are a passing phase. In spite of the terrific hardships, mental and physical agonies, he had to bear and is bearing, he kept and is still keeping cool notwithstanding some aberrations here and there. This explains why he does not seem to be changed much even after gravest of grave catastrophes. During Pathan tyranny he was forced into exile only to come back to his eternal "Karma and Dharma Bhoomi" with renewed vigour.

No doubt, the national calamity has enabled Kashmiri Pandits to steel their hearts, forge exemplary unity, display courage and conviction and abundant patience, strive hard and incessantly pull themselves out of adversity and more from insignificance to significance. They should remain cautious against voluntary self-liquidation under any pretext. The present is yet another test for their trials and tribulations and they must and will come triumphant and be assured of restitution, fair and square. A Kashmiri Pandit has a subtle and emotional attachment to the land of Satisar, i.e. Kashmir. This has filtered down the ages and taken a commanding position in his sub-conscious psyche. His body may run after material comforts but once we delve into his sub-conscious, his soul, his 'Antakaran', his basic and old instinct is face to face. In his heart of hearts he is terribly strong and for his strength he needs a channel to utilise. Ekta Yatra has provided him the signal. His channel is Mother India, whose head is Kashmir. This is his only channel, his source and spirit. This genuine spirit is covered with certain conscious efforts of his towards his material pursuits. He wants everything as a common man. But we have to strike where a Kashmir Pandit is a natural Kashmiri Pandit with a real divine orientation, a spiritualist, an entity with purpose, a titan of many a struggle. Last 60-70 years have tarnished a Kashmiri Pandit with the worldly pursuits. He has put his sub-conscious psyche in back seat, as he did not find a channel to give vent to his real strength. His basic appeal is to his conscience to arouse his sub-conscious. The only appeal which goes down into the core of the heart of a Kashmiri Pandit advertently or inadvertently is that he has lost his greatest asset - the Kashmir. he is firmly convinced that the body of his motherland - Bharat Mata will be unrecognisable without her head - the Valley of Kashmir. And Kashmir is what he continues to stand for, dear and revered "Tapa Bhoomi" for the entire Hindudom standing on the founding pillars of spiritualism, culture, philosophy and religion and his age-long struggle. Kashmiri Pandit's spirit is



indomitable. This is because being born Shaivites, even sky is not the limit. After independence, Kashmiri Pandit, in addition to facing outward curbs, remained self-suppressed. For the larger good of India, he gave up his own role in working in the national mainstream. He sacrificed his own urges so that the urges of Muslim majority in Kashmir could be propped up. Kashmiri Pandits feel proud of the sacrifice they have made to save their honour and dignity by risking their everything in the Valley. They feel proud that their community has the capacity and strength of character to sacrifice its most valuable worldly assets to upkeep its Dharma and maintain its dignity, honour and purity of mind and body. It is this strength of character which has enabled the community to survive the onslaught made on it during the past hundreds of years from time to time at the hands of barbaric forces. They are again passing through a very hard test and surely they would not falter now at any stage in face of mounting difficulties. The Ekta Yatra has steeled their determination to resurrect themselves and also resurrect Bharat Desh so that it attains the heights of glory and provide peace and prosperity to all its people irrespective of caste, creed and region.

Those who bitterly opposed the Ekta Yatra are not against yatras. But they allow yatras of particular specifications :

A secular oracle had for a long time a free run of Doordarshan. He preached his own concept of yatras and justified all medieval invasions by the insidious dictum of

*"Kafle aate gaye, Hindustan banta gaya".*

He wants India to be in the process of continuous formation by keeping the door open for yatras (kafle) - caravans - of invaders and infiltrators.

An eminent gentleman announced that he would take out a yatra for Hindu-Muslim harmony. But he soon found himself in a scoop for naming his yatra appropriately. He felt it easy to pick up Ram so far as Hindus were concerned. He did not visualise any problem here. He had already either indulged in or witnessed denigration of Ram like "Ram in need of shelter"; "Ram is homeless" and like that. His real problem arose in regard to other part of the title of his yatra. He was frightened about being accused of blasphemy if he used the most appropriate name to indicate Muslims. He developed cold feet. But soon recovered by taking shelter under word "Rahim". word Rahim is an attribute of God. Jesus Christ was Rahim (Merciful); Prophet Mohammed was Rahim (Merciful); Lord Ram was Rahim (Merciful); Lord Buddha was Rahim (Merciful);



Guru Nanak Devji was Rahim (Merciful). In the midst of "Yatra", he added Jesus Christ also to the title. But on finding that this had revealed his cowardice and hypocrisy more than ever before, he dropped it. Because by using both Ram and Jesus, he could be ridiculed for not using Mohammed or Rasool. So he let the yatra be only Ram-Rahim yatra, which virtually meant only Ram yatra. But then the 'kept' press gave him the plus marks.

In politics people trade on big names. Stenographers domestic aides and family flunkies became rulers of the land in India because they were allowed to freely use Indira Gandhi's name. Madam Chiang Ching (Mao Zedong's wife) gang appropriated Mao's name to rule the roast in China. Naturally, the end of a line takes the wind out of coterie's sails. When Rajiv Gandhi was no more, the coterie desperately tried to enlist his widow so that they could carry on their trade. Even the "kept" press did not lag behind. It picked up the thread immediately. We were told Sonia's dignified restraint was evidence of her leadership qualities and Priyanka had all the making of a future Prime Minister. It was not known how they came to this conclusion about the teenager studying Home Economics. They said that she had campaigned for her father and was always asking the staff questions about what was going on. We were told that India could be ruled by Congress Party and the Party could only be ruled by Nehru-Feroz Gandhi dynasty. This, we were told, was stability. This was the 'unity' and 'integrity' of India. Did not Indira Gandhi like to create crisis so that she could later "save India" and thus be the "only hope". Even Sanjay Gandhi, as long as he was alive, was projected as most promising leader of the country waiting in the wings to become Prime Minister. His unexpected and accidental death catapulted Rajiv into politics ultimately gaining him Prime Ministership. Even Italian arriviste, who married in India's aristocracy, Mrs Sonia Maino, daughter of Stepheno Maino of Orbassano (Italy) was declared heir to the throne after tragic assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Had this happened, India would have had dubious distinction of having a Prime Minister whose father, a construction businessman, had been accused of being a supporter of fascist leader Mussolini, which had reportedly led to confiscation of some of his property after World War-II. Sonia Maino had married Rajiv Gandhi in 1968 but continued to be an Italian citizen for 15 years till 1983 when she took Indian citizenship on Rajiv's taking to active politics. Her only qualification for any greatness being thrust upon her was being the wife of her husband. Dynasties thrive by making everyone else seem like dwarfs. It is time for the dwarfs to show us how tall they can now grow.



One of the dynasty devotees journeyed from Amethi to Sriperumbudur and called it Rajiv Yatra. He had composed songs in praise of Sonia.

The domestic aides also moved swiftly. Naming one of them as first among equals, they too took out a yatra in Delhi from Ajmeri Gate to Delhi Gate proclaiming the 'first' as "yeh hain shah-e-Alam; Safdarjung se Palam": They named this as 'Sadbhavana' yatra.

Then came a number of yatras simultaneously allegedly sponsored by Ibrahim Dawood through his sole agent in India, Memon Brothers, who allegedly allotted sub agencies to designated film personalities. These Yatras were also dedicated to 'Sadbhavana'.

Finally there was the prestigious yatra taken out by those who are 'ultimate' in 'intellectualism'. They made history by taking their yatra in New Delhi around the seat of power from Babur Road to Aurangzeb Road. This was to remind the nation about the relevance of "Alamgir", who had dethroned his father, put him in prison for the remaining seven years of his life and killed all his three brothers including the eldest one, Dara Shikoh. Finally, there was the 'Apex' yatra. A cavalcade of cars, cold-proof, heat-proof sound-proof and bullet-proof and ducking in them former Prime Ministers, former C.M.s, former Ministers each one of them led by, followed by, surrounded by, watched by and guarded by Commandos, black cats, crack jawans from N.S.G. Special Protection Guards, Rapid Action Force, all well and adequately equipped with most modern sophisticated weapons, with tactical cover provided by sleuths from Raw, I.B. etc. This 'Apex' Yatra descended on Raj Ghat at the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi - apostle of non-violence, for reminding the departed soul that peace and harmony could come only this way - the Commando way.

To achieve social justice a Nyaya yatra was launched by Mr. V.P. Singh in the hot season of mid-June of 1993, in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. But how? An air-conditioned car was called the "Nyaya Rath". So the way has been shown.

*"It never troubles a wolf  
how many the sheep be."*



## Chapter 10

### Violation of Human Rights

"Half the people of this world have something to say but they can't, the other half has nothing to say and it harps on saying it."

In all the years of creation of Pakistan, there has not been a moment of peace for India. India and Pakistan were forced to fight three wars but are no nearer resolving their differences than when Muslims of India put forth their plan for a homeland based on Islam. Pakistan keeps telling the world that the stumbling block is the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan is insistent that the State should go to it strictly on the basis of religion. This flies against the very face of India as a State sheltering more than ten crore Muslims and further giving them citizenship rights. Should India concede the Valley of Kashmir to Pakistan or the local groups in the garb of independence or autonomy on theocratic grounds, its present composite nationalism which is also called secularism will fall to the ground instantly with disastrous consequences for the Muslim minority. Pakistan's 'raison d'être' is the hatred of India. Its leaders and media persons in recent years have persuaded themselves that India is passing through a phase of weightlessness in the international political arena; that the country is angry, confused, bewildered politically and enfeebled economically. They believe India is an unstable polity, likely to collapse under the weight of its own problems. They are pleased with the dividends brought by their investment in mischief in the Punjab and J. & K. and have now introduced into commercial capital of the country, Bombay. They hope all this will soften the Indian leadership enough to make them cut their losses and by yielding ground on Kashmir. They are convinced that India has had an overdose of democracy and this has made it unable and unwilling to stick to its point. They feel sooner or later India must be made to bleed. Pakistan has taken its responsibility as a member of global Muslim Ummah very seriously. In the name of Islam and national Islamic ideology Pakistan has refused to condition its people to think friendship with India as a viable policy option.

India respects Pakistan's sovereignty and independence and expects Pakistan to respect hers. Problems and differences between neigh-



bours have existed throughout history. Civilised nations try to resolve them peacefully through negotiation and discussion and not through violence and war. This is a lesson the so-called great powers seem to have learnt after going through two world wars. But what has Pakistan been doing? According to the study made by American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Pakistan's military intelligence used narcotics profits to fund separatist movements in India. The study cites "numerous reports" that Pakistan's powerful military intelligence agency, the Inter Services Intelligence Directorate, used drug money to fund groups it supports in the neighbouring country. ISI developed funding arrangements with Sikh militants and Kashmir insurgents in India. Testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee on 21st April, 1993, the Director of the C.I.A. Mr James Woolsey said : "Pakistan has supported the Kashmiri and Sikh group, which have been waging long-running insurgencies against India's Central Government. Kashmiris and Sikhs have found a safe heaven in Pakistan." On the same day i.e. 21st April, 1993, the Washington Post published a report date-lined Islamabad quoting a former officer of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) as claiming that the Jamaat-i-Islami "has hired former employees of ISI and the Special Services Group, the Army's elite Commando force to run its Kashmir operation." The report also quoted another former ISI official saying that Pakistan had specially trained Indian Muslims for participating in the Afghan jihad and later provided help through them to insurgents in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. He said: "The reasons for this are obvious -- money and power. Nation States make terrorists more lethal and ambitious. The Director said that a wrong impression had been created that after Ayotollah Khomeini, Iran had become moderate. Iran has become more fundamental. It had strengthened its ties with radical Palestinian terrorists who share long-time goal of destroying Israel. Within the country, Iran has killed more and more of its own people".

On January 16, 1990. Chief of Pakistan's Jamhoori Itihad, appealed to the public to observe January 19 as a prayer day to express "firm solidarity with Kashmiri freedom fighters. He also called upon Ulema to offer special prayers for the success of jihad that was waged by the Kashmiri Muslims. On January 31, 1990 Sahibzada Yakub Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister in a radio broadcast aroused public passion and justified Pakistan's support to the terrorists in Kashmir. He Bemoaned: "I went to India with a bouquet of flowers but returned with a basket of thorns". In her speech in the National Assembly the then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was all out against him. On February 1, 1990 Khan



Bahadur Khan, Pakistan's Minister of state for Religious Affairs declared: "We are resolute to liberate Kashmir which is the life-line of Pakistan," Earlier, an eleven Party Alliance was formed in Pakistan-Occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir. The most venomous part was played by Jamaat-I-Islami. Its Chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmed strongly advocated intervention in Kashmir. He said: "we are a small power but a Muslim country. We live in an ocean of Muslim brotherhood. Hindus are not like us. The Brahmins and "Achhoot" can never form a nation like Ummat-e-Muslima The people of Kashmir have carried the Pakistani flag. It is our duty to support the Muslims of Kashmir." On february 4, 1990 a joint meeting of the Government and Opposition leaders was held at Islamabad to express Pakistan's unanimous commitment to the Muslims of Kashmir in support of their "freedom struggle". Opening the meeting which was attended by four Chief Ministers, Federal Ministers and high-ranking military and civil officers, Ms Nusrat Bhutto, a senior Minister, who presided in the absence of the Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto, said: "The heroic struggle and firm determination of the on-going upsurge in Kashmir has again demonstrated beyond any doubt that the valiant Kashmiri Muslims will not be denied their inherent right to self-determination nor will they yield to brute force or harsh coercion." Throughout Pakistan, strike was observed on February 5, 1990 to express solidarity with the Kashmiri Muslims. It was a Government-sponsored strike in which all political parties participated. Huge placards were displayed. These placards read: "Kashmir will be in Pakistan" Public rallies were held in almost all major towns of the country and fiery speeches were made. At one such rally at Lahore, the Jamat-i-Islami leader thundered: "Indian forces have cordoned off Kashmir. But they do not know the weapon, which could suppress the spirit of 'jihad' has still not been invented in the world." Army Chief, General Aslam Beg said: "The changing scenario in Kashmir has posed new challenges and assigned new tasks and new missions to us". On the following day, Col.(Rtd) G.S. Cheema, Minister of state for Defence said: "Without Kashmir Pakistan is incomplete". Amanullah Khan Dardi threatened to send 10,000 commandos to cross the border. Attempts were made to cross the L. C. at Suchetgarh, Abdullahian, Nawpind and Budhwar. Crowds were brought to these places in buses from Sialkot and other cities of Pakistan. Provocative speeches were delivered and show of crossing the border made. About one hundred of them actually crossed over. But they retreated in the face of firm action taken by the Indian Armed Forces. The basic objective of these measures was to heighten tension, cause armed



Skirmishes here and there, whip up emotions on the ground of Islamic brotherhood and attract attention at the international level.

Thus, inside Pakistan, "jihad" against India continued with fierce intensity. Although Central Governments and Provincial Governments changed. Ms Bhutto was replaced by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and later by Nawaz Shareif as Prime Minister, it made no difference so far as India-whipping was concerned. Nawaz Sharif began to play a double game. On the one hand, he began making gestures to Indian leaders showing his keenness to settle mutual differences in a friendly way. On the other, he continued to instigate his own people and the Muslims of Kashmir. He had two motives in this. One was to make the Government of India complacent and strengthen the hands of these sections of the people who want India to give more and more concessions to Pakistan. The second motive was to create an impression in the international circles that Pakistan was a "good guy" and was preventing and not instigating intrusions in the J. & K. State. He maintained high anti-India pitch within his country and also made extensive tours to Pak-occupied areas of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, instigating people to intensify the subversive activities. On August 5, 1992, Nawaz Sharif said that Pakistan had a mission to free the Himalyan region of Kashmir from the rule of India. Pakistan would fulfill its commitment to Kashmiri Muslims, he told a rally in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir before leading the crowd in chanting "Kashmir will become Pakistan". "We have a great mission before us, which has to be completed," said Mr Sharif, whose speech in the town of Rawalakot was broadcast by State run Radio Pakistan. "God willing, the days of oppression over the Kashmiri Muslims will come to an end and Kashmir will be liberated." Pakistan has made hatred of India the basis for its foreign policy. In his "We are at War" broadcast on September 6, 1965, General Ayub Khan had declared: "The one hundred million people of Pakistan whose hearts beat with the sound of "La-- ill-- Allah, Mohammad Rasool Allah," will not rest till Indian guns are silenced for ever". Pakistan is prepared to go to any length to encompass India's ruin. Kashmir merely presents a pretext for the animus of the rulers of that country towards India.

Side by side to launching of proxy war in Kashmir, Pakistan organised a massive campaign in the Islamic countries in general and Western countries in particular. While in the former she roused the sentiments in the name of Islam, in the latter she appealed to the democratic conscience in the name of human rights. Under the garb of human rights anti security forces campaign is carried on by the terrorists,



their apologists within India and officially by the Government of Pakistan. The press within the Kashmir Valley is forced at gun point to abide by the dictates of the terrorists. The media there have been reduced to rags only to wipe the bloodied hands of marauders or issue threatening and challenges and "Orders of the Day". There is nobody to protect the lives, honour, rights and duties of the media persons. Mohammed Shaban Vakil, Editor of pro-terrorist Urdu Daily newspaper, "Al Safa News", Srinagar was also done to death. His fault: he had, in the interest of success of the terrorist movement, suggested that rape of virgin girls in villages by the militants should be avoided as such actions were bringing bad name to them and to the Movement. There has been well-orchestrated campaign the terrorists and their apologists have launched to besmich the face of jawans posted in Kashmir. Some of the newspapers outside the State carry the sponsored news items relating to some supposed episodes. The description of these imaginary incidents are given in such a way by some Weekly and fortnightly journals that it appears as if the journalist concerned was himself one of the terrorists. As a Russian saying goes: `` "They lie like an eye witness,"

*" Iss andaaz se kar rahey hain zikkar dozakh ka,  
lagta hai Hazrat-e-Waize waheen ke rahney waaley hain".*

It is quite possible that in exercise of the "freedom of the press", the thought never crosses the minds of these honest to god reporters to check these news items from other sources as well. They are apparently in too great a hurry to bear in mind the well-known fact that terrorists have made the security forces the target of not only their bullets but also a well thought out propaganda offensive. One might wonder if some JKLF terrorists had gained command of editorial and news desks of certain journals. The result is that in the "proxy war" in Kasimir, the security forces are subjected to both physical and psychological warfare, which is an elementary tactic in a conflict of this nature. It is also a known fact that in a proxy war, it is difficult to ensure target responses to attacks by the terrorists in crowded areas. It is the terrorists and the terrorists alone who are responsible if any civilian losses occur. Screeching headlines are given to the local "Human Rights" activists for their devastating accounts and comments on the so-called atrocities on the marauders, even when source of such occounts are known as flimsy, to say the least, based on a talk with a taxi driver, hotel boy or a terrorist motivated indiciual Government officials in Srinagar. In the given situation in the valley anybody can be made to make any allegation. For the rest they don't



The Indian "intellectuals" particularly those having "left" and so-called "progressive" orientation have been presenting a distorted picture of the situation. There is a plethora of Committees which have taken upon themselves to see that the terrorists and their cohorts are not hurt even in the smallest degree in the terror war they have themselves launched against rest of the country. They expect that the guerrilla war, planned by late Zia-ul-Haq and being fought by terrorists, should be played like a cricket but with the proviso that only Government side will abide by the rules. The human rightists do not dare breath a word of condemnation against those who have brought such havoc to Kashmir. The security forces have to exercise restraint and act in conformity with the law. Foreign media and human rightist activists have not been denied access to the valley during the last three and a half years. The media, intellectuals, political analysts, leftists in one word, they have failed in Kashmir. Sitting in their safe and air-conditioned chambers and sipping refreshing stuff, they pour out cliched causes and theoretical solutions to the trouble and terror bedevilling the Valley. Sometimes well-meaning Western leaders get misuied by sustained disinformation compaignn launched by those who wish to see discomfiture of India. Zia-ul-Haq had devised an offensive "which will destroy the will of the enemy, damage his plitical capacity and expose him to the world as an appressor". This has actually happened in Kashmir.

It is to be understood and appreciated that the troubling factor in Kashmir is Pakistan's manipulation and the potential threat of war. The Kashmir terrorism has become pampered oriented terrorism due to politicians of all hues trying to appease terrorists by acquiescing in anything wrong or right they demand. To bow before the bully is to invite a butcher the next day. Kashmir's Muslim terrorists have proved too clever for the world. To the innocent and god-fearing Muslim masses of Kashmir they proclaim that they had been designated by Allah to defend Islam and establish "Nizam-Mustaffa." Among the Islamic countries,



they proclaim themselves as "Mujahideen" of the same order as those of Afganistan, Lebanon etc. To the democratic West they appeal in the name of fighters for self-determination for Kashmir and victims of violation of human rights. But, in reality, they are terrorists, who indulge in killings, abductions, rape and loot. Extortion of money by blackmail is their daily practice. Having tasted blood and sexy flesh, they are in no mood to listen to the voice of sanity. On the contrary, they make loud noise against so-called excesses by the security forces in reprisals and there are ready listeners, who persuade themselves to be sympathetic to these criminal gangs. By giving direct support to the terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan is the real violator of human rights there. Armed intervention in Jammu Kashmir is part of Pakistan's official policy. Paid killers are used to infiltrate borders and perpetrate murder, mayhem and sabotage and propagate terrorism among innocent population and against government. This is the most blatant form of violation of human rights. Terrorists violate human rights and the State only reacts to them. The human rightsists should investigate the former instead of telling sovereign State what to do. The State guarantees human rights and not terrorist outfits and it is the State which goes and signs the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and not a self-styled Lt. General of terrorist group operating in Kashmir. Human Rights Organisations have been adopting a morally superior posture. Pakistan has just seen patches of democracy in its history and has known military dictatorships and overthrow of democratically-elected governments. In India dissent is not only permitted but is very strong and governments are changed through ballot.

India is faced with a situation where a neighbouring country has officially become a sponsor of terrorism and subversion. Pakistan has resorted to the issue of human rights to deflect the Western world's attention from the genesis of the Kashmir problem. She is determined to annex Kashmir just because it is predominantly Muslim. For Pakistan, it is primarily a partisan political issue rather than one of human rights per se. She is trying hard to generate a convenient momentum of the politics of human rights rather than human rights as such. All Pakistani actions conform to its basic stand that the Kashmir issue is the "unfinished" part of partition. Faced with ruthless terrorism, India has to make strenuous efforts to protect the lives of innocent men, women and children in Jammu and Kashmir. The terrorists in Kashmir have shown sophisticated understanding of the manipulation of the media. They have chosen the video news magazines to put their message across in manner which shows them reasonable, articulate men fighting for a just cause. Their policy is to keep



the media on your side by giving it access to you. This makes some media men gloat over the fact of having accomplished an unmatched journalistic adventure of talking to a terrorist, who is invisible to all others. Bernstein was one of the two reporters of Washington Post, who investigated Watergate and brought down President Nixon. He writes: "The greatest felony in the news business today is to be behind or to miss, a long story. So, speed and quantity substitute for thoroughness and quality for accuracy and context. The pressure to complete, the fear somebody else will make the splash first, creates a frenzied environment in which a blizzard of information is presented and serious questions may not be raised. Reporting is not stenography. It is the best obtainable version of the trust."

When Journalists join 'en masse' in the battles of hired soldiers for one side or the other. 'Theirs not to reason why'. Truth is the first casualty. Investigation turns into instigation, analysis becomes assassination of character. Facts are scarce, comment is free. Coverage gets distorted and public and social discourse is turned "into a sewer". The victim is chosen first and investigation revolved round him. The gross, gruesome and systematic brutalisation of the innocent people by the terrorist gangs is not found worth over for a passing reference. The terrorists overall strategy is to wrest Kashmir somehow from India. The strategy has several sub-plans intricately meshed into each other for maximum effect. A "master Controller" monitors every move and makes appropriate adjustments in action plan as the situation may warrant. One of the most vital of these sub-plans is psychological warfare to demoralise the Kashmiri population and defame the security forces world-wide. They level charge of excesses and atrocities against the security forces and violations of human rights and the "free" press gives it full play not having either the means or the courage to first check their veracity. Truth is being waylaid and butchered. Terrorists have mastered the art of manipulating facts and have succeeded in hoodwinking the Western media with their stories. Most of the media coverage in the United States has been focussed on what the terrorists have desired. The terrorists gave full page advertisements to prominent newspapers in the U.S. like New York Times, which cost thousands of dollars. Simultaneously with the launching of armed insurgency and the guerrilla war, Pakistan had planned to activate Muslim fundamentalist organisations in the West for its fullfledged disinformation campaign on the Gobellion model. Few Muslims from Kashmir and those from its occupied areas were provided unlimited petro-dollars for the purpose. A renowned American firm,



Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly was engaged to lobby on the Capitol Hill and in the American media. The said firm is such a costly and high profile firm that even George Bush had entrusted his publicity work to it during 1988 Presidential election. During 1992, another high-priced lobbyist-Dennis Neil and Company (whose service are said to cost \$ 6000,000 a year) was utilised. The firm, Black, Manafort stone and Kelly managed to get four or five resolutions sponsored in US Senate against India.

Pakistan's propaganda machine got much fabricated material from some Indian sources, which was naturally taken as authentic. This is the most sinister aspect in the whole episode. As a corollary to the cold war strategy of the two super powers C.I.A. and K.G.B. had been competing with each other in putting some individuals and groups as their disguised agents. Magazines and journals easily fall a prey to this sort of temptation because handsome monetary incentives are provided. Multi-nationals also operate in this field with their own objectives. In India some groups which are complaining of atrocities do so because they have money from unknown sources. Nobody asks them from where they got huge funds. These organisations create mountains out of molehills as far as human rights violation in India is concerned. These groups calling themselves 'human rights organistions' descend upon the Valley of Kashmir as if under a command performance of terrorists themselves. These groups are used to rationalize terrorism. They see nothing wrong when the killers use their ruthless Kalishnikovs to wipe out the entire families or put time bombs in passenger buses to kill scores of people at a time. When security forces cordon off some suspected locality to locate the sites of these dreaded bombs, these 'human rightists' wail and cry. What former American President, George Bush has said is applicable to these Indian groups: He said, "I cannot for the life of me understand mobilising demonstrators and demonstrating against your own country.... when your sons and daughters are dying half-way around the world." The Law Minister of Karnataka, Mr Harnahally Ramaswami has suggested that persons who do not do their duty under Article 51-A of the Constitution of India should not be given their fundamental rights. "Those who burn the national flag, who do not respect the national anthem, do not deserve human rights," he has said.

In September, 1992, when Delhi High Court cancelled the F.I.R. and Letter Rogatory against Win Chaddha in Bofors case, there was jubilation in the involved circles. Their aim now was to stop at once any further legal process which was going on in Switzerland. A person from India, who went to Geneva to attend a Human Rights meeting, actually



forgot the purpose for which he had ostensibly gone there and went on saying to anyone who was listening: "Chaddha jeet jayega" (Chaddha will win). This gentleman instead of talking about New Delhi's stand on Bosnia-Herzegovina or racial discrimination, met Ms. Chitra Subramanian, a well-known media person, who has been exposing the Bofors scandal and told her: "Tum yeh Bofors - wofors chhod do - Chaddha jeet jayega". (Leave this Bofors business, Chaddha will win). In the international fora, Pakistan relied on four reports regarding so-called violation of human rights in Kashmir. Three of these were prepared by PUCL, Independent initiative on Kashmir and Citizens for Democracy. Misguided Indians have been providing material for the Pakistani propaganda mills as a matter of habit or disease. Pakistan's U.N. Envoy, Jamsheed Narker, who spoke in the U.N. Economic and social Committee on self-determination in Kashmir on July 27, 1992, quoted from Published account of Justice (Rtd) V.M. Tarkunde and Justice (Rtd) Rajinder Sachar as well as from the article in Telegraph of Calcutta that advocated a plebiscite under U.N. auspices. Perhaps for such people it has been said:

*"Dil ke Fafoley jal uthey seeney ke daag say,  
Iss ghar ko aag lagi ghar ke chirag say."*

All this campaigning has brought dividends to the terrorists' cause, particularly abroad where a receptive press swallowed all these stories wholesale. Inevitably, the Terrorist strategists became bolder and hurled grave charges of bizarre misconduct and worst against the security forces and the army. The precursors of these terrorists were the notorious "raiders", who, in 1947 indulged in looting, pillage, arson and lust that they failed to grab Kashmir, which was like a sitting duck at that time. The terrorists' Western friends and sympathisers may no longer remember the way they destroyed churches and ravished the group of nuns on whom they swooped like vultures. In the present holocaust their victims are nurses and other innocent folk; Asia Watch itself has cited the case of Ms Sarla Bhat a staff nurse at the Institute of Medical sciences in Soura, Srinagar, who was shot dead on April 18, 1990. Her body was found in Lal Bazar with a note in which the JKLF claimed responsibility. Four days prior to her killing, Sarla Bhat had been kidnapped from the Nurses Hostel by the unidentified men and post-mortem report concluded that she had been raped before she was killed. The Kashmiri Muslim terrorists' motives to malign the army are not far to seek. Their sponsors in Pakistan hope to attract greater world attention to Kashmir if the Indian security forces can somehow be accused, no matter how falsely, of atrocities and violation of human rights. Seminar on Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh ~~Seminar on Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh~~ exposed their own



frivolity by giving currency and credence to the terrorists' calumny without any proper investigation or inquiry. The charges levelled against India and her security forces are part of a sustained and cleverly contrived strategy of psychological warfare with the objective of getting Kashmir inscribed on the international agenda in the guise of "human rights issue".

Whose human rights have been violated in Kashmir? It is ironical, indeed pathetic and tragic that the Peoples' Union of Civil Liberties (PUCL), New Initiative on Kashmir, Human Rights Watch etc. should become victims of conceptual ambiguity, which involves a shift in the very parameters of fair judgment. None of these organisations could show any trace of human sensitivity or humanness or a modest concern for three lakh of the displaced persons, who have been reduced to penury and frustration.. The so-called Human Rights activists who will stake their honour and stop at no lies to propagate the cause of terrorists and their "Rights" and club the tiny community of Pandits as tyrants and exploiters and grabbers. As stated earlier, they have brought into disrepute the security forces who are fighting against not only terrorists but all the odds that the Government could think of. What was the base or source on which these organisations prepared their reports? Their completely false reports were based on :

*"Somebody told me,  
That somebody said,  
That somebody else,  
Had somewhere read,  
In some newspaper,  
That you were dead."*

In fact, on 21st October, 1991, on the Police Commemoration Day, the Director-General of B.S.F. had extended invitation to human rights groups to discussion, offering to provide them with true reports of the actual happenings which was rejected by these groups. Because that would have nailed their lies that they had already transmitted as 'truth' to their 'principals' abroad.

The Human Rights Organisations have ignored the gross human rights violations against Kashmiri Hindus. Their silence is intriguing and puts their credibility to shade. By keeping mum on genocide of small and rare minority in Kashmir, these organisations have fallen victim to the dangerous ploy of terrorists and become tools in their propaganda machinery against India. The disinformation campaign launched by the self-styled Human Rights Groups, which have mushroomed in India, has been fully used by the terrorists abroad to malign India. The malicious



and false reports of these Groups have provided grist to Pakistani propaganda abroad. These reports which claim to be based on factual accounts, are widely quoted in pamphlets distributed as publicity material. Pakistanis and their supporters in London brought out provocative annual calendars for the year 1991 listing wholly incorrect and exaggerated details of incidents in the Valley every month and also contained photographs. Most of these incidents were mere fabrications. One such poster was published in the name of the World Kashmir Freedom Movement. The calendar mentioned among other things, Kunan Pushpora incident in Kupwara district. This incident has already conclusively been proved to be false and sponsored by some bureaucratic conspirators. Press Council of India which went into this allegation very very thoroughly has stated that this was an imaginary incident fabricated by terrorists to malign the security forces. At one place the calendar mentioned that 2.5 million people staged a demonstration in front of the United Nations Military Observers' headquarters in Srinagar. The figure is six times more than the total population of Srinagar at present.

A recent report of the United States Defence Intelligence Agency claims that there are "several thousand mercenaries" in Pakistan belonging to nearly 30 different Muslim countries. According to American media, these mercenaries are more than 10,000 in number. In April 1992, an American delegation led by Peter Burley, a counter-terrorism expert visited Pakistan hearing of wide-spread allegations that Islamabad was backing certain terrorist movements. Burley also visited the Pak-occupied Kashmir in connection with his mission. Before he left Pakistan, Burley warned that Pakistan would be declared a terrorist State if it did not stop helping Kashmiri and other terrorists. In May, 1992, the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Nicolas Plath called on Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif to deliver a letter from Secretary of State James Baker, in which the U.S. threatened to declare Pakistan a terrorist State unless it ceased to support the terrorists in Kashmir and Punjab. I.S.I. has been playing a prominent role in hijacking. On March, 26, 1992, four Pakistani hijackers were gunned down by commandos in Kaula Lampur. During the year 1992 Pakistan's "retired" army officers and others have drawn lessons for the evolution of the extremists activities. They have decided not to project Kashmir as territorial dispute between India and Pakistan. The focus henceforth would be on the "right of self-determination" of the Kashmiris. With the world opinion veering strongly against State-sponsored terrorism, the Pakistanis have decided that terrorist activities should be sustained at a steady, not a high level and that "spectacular"



bangs should be avoided since they could prove counter-productive--turning international opinion against Pakistan. The U.S. has actually supported the "strategy of active defence", which has meant readiness to use military force. India also appears to have no alternative but to launch pre-emptive strikes on trainings camps in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

None has so far informed the world that the Hindus in Kashmir, who were at the receiving end to terrorist depredations in the State were actually the victims of Human Rights violations in Kashmir leaving aside political and ideological prejudice. There is an imperative necessity for a bold and unconventional endeavour to identify the contours of violence that has ravaged the State and redescribe the perspective in which the infringements of Human Rights deserve to be assessed. The reporting on this aspect so far has been restricted to parameters pre-determined by political considerations and social motivations arising out of pre-conceived notions of the nature of terrorist violence in Kashmir. The reporting in this regard so far has, in effect, contravened the spirit and content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948 as well as the United Nations Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly in December, 1966. The excesses involved in political action against terrorism do not form an isolated parameter of Human Rights violations in the context of continued terrorist violence. Terrorist violence itself is a violation of human rights and crime against humanity, which invites action under all laws, national and international. The conceptual ambiguities have created an impression that human rights are legal immunities and are geographically and politically determinable and involve guarantees against the action of the State. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights spells out the following :-

1. Equality of man :
2. Freedom of thought, expression and faith.
3. One process of law.
4. Freedom of Assembly.
5. Representative basis of political power.
6. Right to equality in economic and social organisation.

It is recognised that man has a fundamental right to free movement in search of truth and attainment of moral good and justice besides the right to a dignified life. A person should be free to profess any religion



or no religion at all. Human Rights impose an obligation on the State to safeguard like, ensure equality and due process of law. The slogan of Islamic jihad in Kashmir is a negation of the Declaration of Human Rights and national and international equality. Terrorism and Human Rights observance do not go hand in hand. Terrorists are the enemies of the human race and have to be tracked down. The malady of terrorism is cruel, malignant and unforgiving and cannot be wished away by any soft methods of indirect means. It is not the practitioners of terrorism but the victims who deserve the protection of the human rights. Terrorists cannot be allowed to go scot-free in the name of human rights. India is not a paragon of virtues or that there is no violation of human rights but we have an open society. India is signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has acceded to the two international conventions on civil and political rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural rights. With the growing tide of terrorism and resultant human rights violations, the need for suppression of crime has become more urgent.

The issue of human rights as a field for investigating the doings of sovereign states emerged during World War-II. The diabolism at Dachau and the ghastly gas chambers of the Nazis brought out the fallacies of the concept of State sovereignty and legal positivism as tales of atrocities committed under the cover of legality began to unfold. But when the state as a matter of its primary duty and basic responsibility is required to protect its law-abiding citizens from the criminal terrorists, who challenge the very laws of the land, the concept of human rights has to be viewed very carefully. It is sin to play politics under the cover of human rights. If the individual human rights are violated by the fellowmen, the government has no choice but to fight such forces. Terrorist activities came to be noticed in the world when civil aviation was faced with terror actions. Thereafter crime against civil aviation had been outlawed internationally. It is not clear how is the terrorist who blows up a passenger railway train or a passenger bus different from one who blows a plane? After World War-I, the focus of human rights rested on individual rights. World War-II saw the establishment of war tribunals to punish persons guilty of war excesses. Now after the emergence of terrorism the entire concept of human rights has undergone a change. The United Nations Human Rights Commission wound up its annual meeting at Geneva on 12th March, 1993. The meeting lasted for six weeks. The 53-Nation Commission has moved beyond East-West divisions that characterised the cold war years. But human rights workers feared a split between rich and poor countries. The session was marked by a very strong North-South split. Cuba and



Iran led developing countries in trying to water down work of the commission by altering procedures. The resolution acknowledged that the major obstacles to development in the third world are the 'growing' disparity between North and South, between rich countries and poor. It also called for the establishment of a group of 15 experts to analyse the problems that hinder social and economic development and propose measures to resolve them. North and South clashed head on when it came to debating and voting on the draft resolution presented by several Third World countries, urging the U.N. to clearly define the mandates and attributes of the Commission's various organs and uphold the right to development. The resolution was finally adopted with a bloc vote by the developing countries in the face of total opposition from the United States and the European Community. The rich west opposed the resolution because it tended to democratise the Commission and prevent what we see in the top echelons of the U.N. where five powers can do as they please through their right to veto. The United States and the E.C. voted against this resolution despite the fact that they are always talking about the need to reform the U.N. because it now stops them from behaving as if they own the Organisation.

When those in authority in Pakistan were instigating Kashmiri Muslims through electronic media to launch Islamic jihad, were they not violating human rights? How a sovereign State is to face the situation? The terrorist violence in Kashmir is a religious crusade, the jihad, which is continuation of a Muslim struggle for a separate independent homeland in India to complete the partition of India by securing the Muslim-majority state of Jammu and Kashmir for Pakistan. The terrorists motive is to seek extermination and subjugation of the Hindus because they do not accept the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan nor do they accept to be governed by the authority of the state, which derives its sanction from the law and precedent of Islam. The most crucial aspect of the terrorist violence in the state is the right of intervention, which Pakistan has increasingly sought to support the Muslim struggle in Kashmir. The international justice cannot be reconciled with the crusade for a Muslim state and the genocide of Hindus. How do we reconcile again at the level of principles, the forced exodus of Hindus of Kashmir, with the due process of law upon which Universal Declaration of Human Rights hinges? It is the crucial factor of terrorist violence which determines the extent of state action to contain it. Terrorist violence is primary to all enquiry into Human Rights violations in Kashmir because terrorism is in itself a violation of human rights. It is also a crime against humanity as



well as a crime against international law. Whatever the ideological motivations of terrorist violence in Kashmir, it has involved genocide of religious identity of the Hindus, assassination, torture death, abduction, extermination of hostages, forced exodus of Hindus from Kashmir and burning and destroying of their property. No terrorist violence is justified on the ground of political or ideological motivation or goal structures. In no circumstances has terrorist violence been recognised as legitimate concomitant. Terrorist violence in Kashmir is a part of militarisation of the Pan-Islamic fundamentalism in Asia and the commitment of the secessionist movement to the separation of the state from India and the strategies of Pakistan to annex Jammu and Kashmir state do not legitimise terrorist violence in Kashmir whatever political content they are presumed to have.

The United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Security Council passed on December 9, 1985 and December 18, 1985 respectively the following resolution to prevent international terrorism, which inter alia reads:

"Deeply concerned about the world-wide escalation of acts of terrorism in all its forms, which endanger or take innocent lives, jeopardise fundamental freedom and seriously impair the dignity of a man ... mindful of the necessity of maintaining and safeguarding the basic right of the individual in accordance with relevant international human rights, instruments and generally accepted international standards:-

1. Unequivocally condemns as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whoever committed including those who jeopardise friendly relations between two states;
2. Deeply deplores the loss of innocent human lives which results from such acts of terrorism;
3. Invites all States to take all appropriate measures at the national level with a view to the speedy and final elimination of the problems of international terrorism and harmonise domestic legislation with international conventions to suppress and eliminate terrorism.

The major terrorist crimes which have been committed in Kashmir are assassination of Hindus as a religious denomination. This all-round terrorist onslaught has resulted in forced exodus of Hindus from Kashmir. An important dimension of Human Rights in Kashmir is genocide of the minorities.



The U.N. General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide in 1951. Genocide is unanimously declared as a crime in international law. It covers killings of the members of a group, causing serious bodily and mental harm to the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction and forcing the group out of its habitual environs. Genocide and incitement to genocide is a crime punishable under International Law.

Thus, Kashmiri Hindus have borne the crucifixion of genocide. But will the perpetrators of terrorist violence, their accomplices and the abettor country of Pakistan be arraigned for punishment for crimes against humanity and crimes in contravention of International law. In Kashmir, brutal assassination of Hindus, abduction and killing hostages, genocide of Hindus on pain of death - all these are violation of human rights and a crime against humanity. The exuberant champions of human rights should answer one simple question from a displaced person and a miserable Kashmiri: "who is to restore civil authority in Kashmir and by what means may this miracle be achieved?"

Mr V.M. Tarkunde, Mr Rajinder Sachar and others who belong to some organisations dealing in human rights in India, paid a five-day visit to Kashmir towards the last week of May, 1993. Mr Sachar, in his report, said: "while considering all these aspects one must remember the plight of thousands of migrants from Kashmir Valley, who are living miserable life in camps in Jammu and other places in India. A visit to one of the camps in Jammu showed the pitiable condition --hovel-like tents with no drinking water and with insanitary conditions." Let us hope this is a sincere expression and that these gentle persons will now onwards work for the rehabilitation of these unfortunate victims of Muslim fundamentalism. One hesitates to believe the uncharitable remarks that this solitary visit to a refugee camp after three and half years is only to restore their own credibility and make their other distortions acceptable.

For lakhs of Kashmiri Hindus who have lost everything because the administration both at the Centre and in the State has totally failed to protect their life, honour and property. They are simply shocked that the set-up that is designed and meant to protect the country's borders is unable to prevent the ingress of thousands of terrorists well-equipped with the latest weaponry. One hundred and one excuse are advanced in defence of the Government's inability in this regard. But all events lead to one and the only one fact that their genocide has gone unchecked because they are Hindus. "Upholders" of human rights consider Kashmiri



Hindus to be the natural prey of the terrorists as they are fighting for 'independence' or Pakistan. Ergo there is no violation of human rights when minorities are hounded out of Kashmir, or they are butchered, or their women are molested, for how can Hindus have right in a state where majority is of Muslims. The state and Central Government appear to have imposed upon themselves a deliberate reserve and for unknown reasons desist from taking firm and due action against terrorists. Terrorists have been put on a pedestal. Government have proved quite convincingly in regard to Kashmir Hindus that politics was the part of trading in human misery. Even after nearly four years, the misery and squalor in refugee camps is unspeakable. The living conditions are so appallingly sub-human that these might by themselves constitute a case for denial of basic rights by the state. Some judges in India, who retired on due superannuation, have adorned various human rights organisations. Their activities are required and also justified in all the areas of the country which are governed under the Constitution and the law. But in a particular area where insurgency has been launched with open support and intervention of a neighbouring country, with religion as the base, these organisations cease to have any jurisdiction. Because to face the campaign of secession, the prime duty of any Government is to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. If these human rights organisations and their leaders feel and are convinced that Kashmir should not form part of India like any other State, they should say so openly and honestly. It is another point whether Indian law allows its citizens to work for dismemberment of the country. But then matter is between the Government and these gentlemen. In that case these people should be prepared to suffer for their convictions. Late Comrade P.N. Bazaz, who was very senior to present-day Royists, had said openly that Kashmir should have joined Pakistan. Bazaz suffered for his views and was also imprisoned. It is another matter that ultimately he felt sorry for his views and said in writing that the views he was holding were basically wrong. He later pleaded for continued association of Kashmir with India. But it goes to his credit that he never hid his intentions or activities by putting on the cover of Human Rights over him. If some gentlemen in India whether journalists, ex-judges or others, want Kashmir to be of different ideology and dispensation they should not act as cowards and take shelter under the alleged violation of human rights by the security forces. The duly elected Government of India has deputed the security forces to defend the territorial integrity of the country at any cost. So the gun-welders have to be crushed come what may. If in the process some innocents also suffer



the fault does not lie with the security forces, who have the mandate to perform their duty of defending the motherland. No individual or a group of individuals should be allowed to tarnish the image of security forces, who have not gone there for a picnic on their own. If some individuals and groups have any grouse or complaint about the very basic things, they should fight the Government in whatever way they can or wish. Wearing the garb of human rightists in such a situation where the very existence of our nation is under challenge, is immoral, seditious and treacherous. Human rights issue should not be clubbed with other political questions to create a camouflage. Linking of human rights with secession only helps the terrorist organisations and their mentors abroad and prolongs the agony of the population.

It is no surprise that even the report of the Press Council of India has failed to be an eye-opener for our "activists" and "intellectuals" because their eyes are shut so tight that they cannot open them even by a second's blink. They are also so ill disposed to any advocacy of the basic fact of Kashmir being a part of India like the rest of the country that they have been left unmoved and unimpressed by the unambiguous conclusions of the Press Council which is headed by a distinguished jurist and a former judge of the Supreme Court. Even when the Press Council said that the terrorists themselves are guilty of rights violation on a large scale, human rights groups do dare breathe a word of condemnation against those who have brought such havoc to Kashmir? Certainly not, because in the name of truth they only know the game of twisting the truth to make palatable to those who indulge in murder and mayhem in Kashmir. Little is known to people about the various components of the terrorists vicious strategy whose ultimate objective is to wrest Kashmir somehow from India. The report of the Press Council of India on alleged violation of human rights by army and other para-military forces has described as "grossly exaggerated or invented" reports of human rights excesses against the army in Kashmir. "Some isolated incidents have taken place, but these have been inquired into and swift action taken against those found guilty", it observes. The two most serious allegation against the army of the so-called Dudhi killings and mass rape of women at Kunan Pushpora, are without foundation. The kunan rape story on close examination turns out to be a massive hoax orchestrated by militant groups, their mentors and collaborators in Kashmir and abroad as part of a cleverly contrived strategy by psychological warfare as an entry point for re-inscribing Kashmir on the international agenda as a human rights issue, "says the report." The loose ends and contradictions in the story



exposes a tissue of lies by many persons at many levels", it adds. The Commission has noted that the women of Kunan Pushpora had been tortured or coerced into making statements derogating their own honour and dignity. "This cruel exploitation of simple women through demeaning self-abuse is itself a deplorable human rights violation". "The Commission has said. "The Kunan rape story stands totally unproven and completely untrue, a dirty trick to frame the army". The whole thing has turned out to be the "mother" of all efforts by Kashmiri militants to malign the army. But some human rights groups have appeared to be hard nuts to crack. Ignorance is indeed bliss when knowledge can be painful. For them "Tamaso ma jotirgamaya" (from darkness lead me to light) has no meaning. It is for them that Malayalam poet, Akhithaw has said: "Light, my lad, is sorrow: gaity is darkness".

In the "modern advanced" world of the old as well as the neo-colonialists, much touching concern is shown day in and day out for the so-called "human rights" of the gun-toting marauders, who know only but one way of realising their dreams, that is the barrel of the gun. The activists and their well-taken care of agents and pseudo activists all over, are motivated and have mastered the art to orchestrate the "violation" to the exculsion of any argument or fact. How painful it is to refer to inexplicable and impulsive aspect to which the laudable addicts of the Universal Declaration have been reduced. The Amnesty International's report on India in 1992 contains many pages full of references to the "violations" against what are called fighters for sepration in Kashmir. There is no mention of the tragedy and travails inflicted on the helpless, meak, innocent minority, aboriginal natives of Kashmir. Ironically the report claims to detail torture, rapes and deaths in custody (hostage in case of Hindus (Pandits) to which precisely this minority community has been subjected openly and defianlty in the last about four years and during the silent subversion and infiltration for destruction from within, decades before that. It is not the security forces which have indulged in this barnarism , but those very inhuman terrorists whom the Human Rights activists go out all the way to defend and protect. It is sometimes argued that the clauses and articles of the Human Rights Declaration are concerned with Governmental aberration agtains the people at large. That may be the letter of the Declaration. But can the spirit of the Declaration, intended to be noble and impartial , be contrary or opposite to this letter?

Members of a group of Amnesty International visited New Delhi in November, 1992. They had discussions with the Home Minister and



top officials of the Government. They consisted of Mr Ian Martin, Mr Derik Evans, Ms Yvonne Tevlinger and Ms Sarah Thomas. These gentle persons referred to secessionist terrorists as armed opposition groups. They have not appreciated that armed secessionist terror groups are quite different from opposition groups whether armed or unarmed. The secessionist groups are determined to cut the country and the nation to pieces, when opposition groups only want to capture the government. These members of the Amnesty themselves stated that their investigations are confined to meeting with relatives of victims, lawyers and state-level officers.

Kashmiri Hindus have suffered violations in all aspects of human rights and yet not a word was mentioned about it in the Amnesty International's Report on India. The trauma of the small community has not even been mentioned in passing. Universal Declaration of Human Rights is meaningless if does not provide the right of being heard. While the above-mentioned Amnesty Delegation was in Delhi, the leaders of All-India Kashmiri Samaj and "Pannun Kashmir" pressed hard for a meeting with the delegation and consequently succeeded in having the same on 25th November, 1992. The delegation appeared to be unconcerned with the plight of the minority community of Kashmir. They gave some explanation but these were far-fetched. However, subsequently, Anita Tiessen, Acting Head of Media Unit, Amnesty International, International Secretariat, London sent the following written explanation: "Amnesty strongly condemns abuses committed by armed opposition groups, such as taking hostages and arbitrary killing of civilians. It has appealed to such groups operating in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere to halt such abuses and our organisation will continue to do so. The primary focus of our work will, however, remain on human right violations committed by Governments who have themselves undertaken specific and binding obligations to uphold and protect human rights. I should also clarify that all national sections of Amnesty International including the Indian section work to protect human rights on an international basis in other countries than their own. Amnesty International sections are not authorised to represent the organisation to carry out research on the human rights situation in their own country or take action on specific human rights concerns except death penalty."

It is agreed that Amnesty International, if put to proper use, can offer a healing touch to the humanity. Founded on the initiative of Peter Beneson, a conscientious British Barrister, made its global debut in the mid 1960s. And won the Nobel Peace Prize in the 1980s because of its



crusading work. But the pity is that it has in recent years only overpressed those who are themselves keen to uphold the cause dear to it. India is liberal, tolerant, democratic and has a foolproof mechanism for safeguarding the human rights. But a slight aberration is frowned upon. Amnesty has cheek to ask India to permit it to investigate the functioning of the police Department of Bombay city. Because India has been a soft, receptive and itself very anxious about human rights, the Amnesty finds it easy to leave the whole world aside and pounce upon India. India has become accustomed to get slapped again and again. On the other hand, what is going on in other countries of south Asia. Singapore brusquely expelled Amnesty's visiting team as "interventionist" and "disruptive" apart from it being partisan," when Lee kwan was its Prime Minister. Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Mahathiar mahammed while addressing the summit of the ASEAN (Association of the South East Asian Nations: Thailand, Malaysia, the Philipines,Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei) observed that the question of human rights had been raised to the status of a major "conditionality" linking it with issues of trade and socio-economic development. The human rights issue has proved very controversial for it has become an important yardstick to assess the credit-worthiness of receipient nation. He implied that the states of South East Asia and East Asia with their free market style booming economies and their unvarying authoritarian political diet find human rights an embarrassment. Burma (Myanmar) spotlights as no other country does today slaughter of human rights of 40 million, smarting under a military oligarchy. Years before the carnage at Tiananmen Square in Beijing on June 5-6 in 1989, China had salughtered 36 million during the decade-old, the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The two feuding wings of Korea, divided along the 38th Parallel rival and out-do each other in savage abuse of human rights of 90 million who inhabit the war-ravaged Korean Peninsula, languishing in turmoil. Famine, malnutrition, deployment of chemical/biological weapons of mass destruction have all killed more than a generation of intrepid people of Vietnam, Combodia and Laos. Gen. Suharto Chief of state of Indonesia since 1965, thinks the two sets of Human Rights civil and political and social and enomic don't supplement and sustain each other. For him, the choice is: freedom or food; For Lee Kwan Yew, former Prime Minister of Singapore, human rights is not necessarily "the touchstone" of 'human development'. "... There is in the U.N. Charter no express provision in which member-nations of the U.N. agree to respect human rights and fundamental freedom". In australia, the aboriginals live in 'cruel and inhuman' conditions in jails. They are



imprisoned at a grossly disproportionate rate and the conditions under which they are held have contributed to a high rate of death in custody. In the over-crowded Alice Spring jail in the northern territory, 80 per cent of inmates are aborigines kept in the most undesirable environment. In the Federal Republic of Germany, there have been thousands of cases of "Berufsverbot" ( a form of political discrimination against public employee or applicants for public employment ). It is being used as a threat against communists, social democrats, liberals, trade unionists and people without any political membership. In the Islamic Pakistan, people have to inscribe their religious affiliation of their Identity Cards. Any Muslim can accuse one of being disrespectful to their Prophet, a crime punishable by death.

Whatever be the Amnesty's aims, objects, achievement and procedures, the fact is clear that they have turned a Nelson's eye to the genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. Their plea that they do not investigate anything other than state repression is falsified when we see that the Amnesty has been probing ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Repeated pleas by Panun Kashmir to the Amnesty International have not yielded anything. The memorandum prepared by Panun Kashmir was the most exhaustive document prepared on the Kashmir problem. It included a list of those killed upto 1992, pictures of hideously mutilated bodies, warning on walls and lead stories in mainline Kashmir dailies asking the "infidels" to leave the state. However, Amnesty has remained unmoved. The spokesperson, Anita Tiessen said that they had upto now only dealt with military atrocities in the Valley. "Now we have been glad to receive details about abuses of Kashmiri Hindus by militants fighting in the Valley. They are important for our understanding of the human rights situation in Kashmir". It is hoped that Amnesty will, at last, apply their mind to the most tragic situation in which Kashmiri Hindus have been pushed by the armed fundamentalist terrorists. No Human Rights Group has bothered to take even note of rape cases in which Muslim girls were victims of rape by terrorists. The magazine "India Today" in its issue of May 31, 1992 had given some specific cases in this regard. Since the terrorists were involved in raping their own Muslim girls and not the Security forces, the Human Rightists did not take any interest in these cases.

It is heartening that some eminent people have taken note of genocide of Hindus (Pandits) in Kashmir. "Increasing killings and extortion by the militant armed groups had led to thousands of Hindus fleeing the Valley and living in camps in Jammu".



(Estrellita Jons, Amnesty International: India Abroad 8/14/92)

"Across the globe in Kashmir, an earthly paradise, other blameless people are suffering hellish persecution not for anything they did but for who they are. The Kashmiri Pandits, a minority Hindu sect that has lived in Kashmir for five thousand years would like to go home as much Guatamalan peasants. They have been driven off their ancestral lands by the terrorism of Islamic guerrillas who wish to annex Kashmir to crescent of fundamentalist coutries in the area. India, will do anything to keep Kashmir in its possession has refused to acknowledge the existence of the Hindus in reguee camps ... because 'they don't want to add a religious element to the problem'. Under the oppression their population has shrunk. Their numbers are being reduced further by conditions in the camps - snake-bites and extreme heat. ( Ms Mary McGrory Washington Post 8/27/92 (Ms Mary McGrory is an investigative journalist and a syndicated columnist in the United States).

"In Kashmir, terrorists have forced almost the enire minority Hindu community to leave the Valley, Sikhs and moderate Muslims have sought shelter in other parts of India," ... (Congressman Merwin Dymally (D-Calif)

(Congressional Record, H-5241, 6/25/92).

India is faced with terrorism in Kashmir, which has been sponsored by Pakistan. Sponsorship of terrorism in another country constitutes a violation of the principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter governing relationship among States and deserves to be condemned by the international community. Terrorism has emerged as one of the most dangerous threat to human rights in many parts of the world. Through killings, kidnappings, extortions and other such means, terrorists and their organisations usurp the human rights of innocent civilians. The terrorists use brutality and fear of gun to undermining free functioning of democratic institutions. Human rights (civil, political, social and cultural) are indivisible and inter-related and there is no purpose in compartmentalising them.

It appears relevant to discuss global perception of human rights. The 48th session of Human Righrs Commission held at Geneva in early 1992 has indicated how a good moral idea can become a game of international power politics. The Commission itself has become just a talking forum. Soon after the adoption of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 by a large number of states, cold war started and sharp ideological differences emerged about the nature of human rights. The Western countries based these rights such as freedom of speech,



right to a fair trial, right to political participation and so on. Some non-Western countries like China differed from the above conception. In their view human rights should seek to highlight the right to subsistence, right to education and above all right to development. Prometheus, according to Greek mythology brought to mankind fire. But the Promethean fire still has not reached the homes and hearths of three quarters of mankind populating the developing world. The companion freedoms of democracy will become a fundamental concern once the physical circumstances of the majority of the world's poor are transformed. India is perhaps the only country in the world, which has incorporated in her Constitution both the above aspects of human rights, in the form of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. There has been no agreement among the countries so far as to what should come first - bread or freedom. Throw in racial discrimination, trade barriers and xenophobia and we enter the debate that has been agitating capitals around. Western countries focus on the narrow range of civil and political rights and want the other countries to fall in line with the new political order just as it was being forced through trade, money and finance in the economic front. The developing world believes the west has tasted blood since they have a pliant U.N. Security Council when they want to intervene militarily and they have put together the controversial humanitarian intervention mechanism to interfere in the international matters of sovereign State in the name of human rights. Food in the stomach is as important as freedom of speech and assembly. This is the feeling of developing countries. Recent trends show that industrially advanced countries are using human rights indicators as barriers to trade. While many of the developing countries do have a shabby human rights records, it is no secret that several Western democracies also have a lot of accounting to do. What is being objected to is the selective condemnation of human rights abuses in developing countries to suit vested economic interests in the developed countries. Iraq but not Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, is the target. Israel, and Turkey, China and India but not the United States, Germany, France and Italy. It is not implied by practical behaviour that the West has necessarily made more progress in implementing internationally-recognised human rights or the West is not or has not been the source of many human rights violations throughout the world. Western democracies now openly say they are the movers and shakers of what is acceptable in the human rights arena internationally and anyone who deviates from their guidelines is almost barbaric. Market forces, they say, is one sure way of ensuring good human rights. The U.N. goes along the view. Of course, some of the



hypocrisy has been exposed in recent years --the economic miracles of the pacific tiger have been achieved in societies without much human rights and indeed if China is all bad, why is every businessman eyeing that potential one billion market. The West's rhetoric has also been stunted by events in Europe and America. The world saw how Italians threw Albanians fleeing a dictator being thrown out of the United Nations in violation of international conventions and the slaughter in Yugoslavia and impotence of all to cope has become a challenge to all civilised nations of behaviour.

In Britain legally no network can broadcast statements by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The strategy is to shut out the sound, so that even if there are visuals of IRA activists and you see their lips moving what is being said cannot be heard. Terrorism and violence too are taboo on some international networks. There was a discussion programme of Ayodhya where fundamentalists were fulminating on B.B.C. Such a programme would not have been shown on the network if the incident had pertained to Britain. During the Falkland war, a broadcast that was considered not in Britain's interest was stopped from being aired at the last minute by turning off the power. It was glossed over as the failure of the system. The increasing compulsion of international power politics and consideration of national interest made enormous influence over Western countries to view the human rights from their own specified glasses. While U.S. Congress passed legislation requiring Administration to take into account violations of human rights in the matter of trade and aid to foreign countries, wholesale violation of human rights was totally ignored while aiding and sustaining most authoritarian and dictatorial regimes which opted for and fitted in the western military bloc. Let us take the case of our neighbouring country, Pakistan. During the year 1958, her Chief of the Army Staff was about to retire from service. He was persuading President of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza to grant him extension in service by three years. The President was considering but the General had no patience. Also the day of superannuation was nearing. The General (Ayub Khan) went to President's House and asked for clearance of the case. President gave him a promise that his work would be done. But the General sensed some reluctance. He returned to Army headquarters, conspired with his subordinate Lt. Generals. He imposed Martial Law in whole of Pakistan and himself became Chief Martial Law Administrator. He annulled the Constitution, rule of law and all institutions of a democratic society. Human rights were chicken feed. After a few days, one fine evening he came over the radio and in a blunt way



announced: " President Iskandar Mirza has relinquished office on his own and I have assumed Presidentship of Pakistan". President Iskandar Mirza was interned in Quetta where he later passed away unnoticed. How did the western countries particularly the U.S.A. react to this ? The General was wise. He announced that Pakistan, which was already a member of western military bloc, would now take active part in supporting U.S.A. in her crusade against communist countries. USA immediately provided him the most sophisticated weapons free of cost, sabre jets, patton tanks, cobra missiles, Radar system and most modern air bases etc. There was no furore in U.S. Congress about destruction of democracy in Pakistan. Both Senate and the House of Representatives welcomed the new dependable ally. After getting the deadly weapons what did the dictator do ? His only purpose was to destroy India. India was kept on tender-hooks. Poor India, which had staked everything for launching planned economic development to provide the basic human right of food to its teeming millions, was forced to gather minimum defence requirments at very high cost. This new dictator of the world became the blue-eyed boy of the Western powers. Although the dictator publicly stated that he was not against Communists and, in fact, became an ally and friend of China. He publicly announced that Pakistan's only enemy was India. Did America stop arms supply ? No. All human rights issues were put in jute bags which the dictator had in abundance.

Again, towards the end of Seventies, another dictator, "took over" the Presidentship of Pakistan but with the added armour of orthodox and extremist religious cover. He arrested his own appointing authority, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was removed with the force of gun, framed up on a cooked up charge of indirectly being part of conspiracy of killing the servant of certain lower leven provincial leader. A summary trial was staged and Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, who once presided over the U.N. General Assembly, was sentenced to death by hanging. He was hanged. There was no demand for a free and impartial trial from any Human Rights Organisation. Instead the usurper dictator was supplied deadly weapons in the name of Afghan rebels. But the dictator clandestinely sent these weapons to the Indians States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. A plan was prepared to balkanise India. Since then India has had no respite. When India is forced to take minimum necessary steps to safeguard its territorial integrity, unity and her very existence as a nation, she is accused of violation of human rights, as if Pakistan has an inherent right to trample these rights. On whose behalf these rights are being proclaimed in Kashmir? It is on



behalf of those who want to usher in a religious State. India's Constitution proclaims secular democracy and universal brotherhood. As against this terrorists in Kashmir aim at setting up of "Nizame-mustafa" and "Muslim Ummah" (Islamic brotherhood). It is irony of fate of that countries with blatant religious and fundamentalist system under non-democratic Governments escape any criticism while countries with democratic Governments and open systems are unfairly criticised. Many Western Countries and non-governmental organisations seem either to ignore or condone terrorism, which is the real threat to human rights today. What has been the role of B.B.C. in regard to secession and terrorism? B.B.C. is not permitted by its British Government to show clips of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) representatives or even allow their voices to be aired - it had no qualms about interviewing terrorists and secessionists in India and broadcasting their provocative statements. BBC has imposed self-censorship in regard to its own country. Why is that BBC sought to focus so much on events in Punjab, Kashmir and Ayodhya while giving inadequate coverage to the bomb blast at Harrods and other places? The bomb blasts by IRA are simply ignored on the pretext that they are so numerous to be noted upon.

Pakistan has been attacking India on human rights in Kashmir Valley relying heavily on the so-called finding of PUCL, Citizens for Democracy, Radical Humanist Association and Manav Ekta Abhiyan. She has also been mentioning about the visits of V.M. Tarkunde and Rajinder Sachar and to the visits of Committee for Initiative in Kashmir and the Indian Peoples' Front to Kashmir. Are the actions and reports of the above organisations not sufficient to prove the liberalism and openness of Indian society and Government. While individual, isolated and accidental aberration on the part of security forces cannot be ruled out but these are firmly dealt with as per the law. India has checks and balances to prevent any deliberate violation of human rights. Whenever such cases are noted or reported, an enquiry is ordered and strict action taken. Punishment ranges from demotion to rigorous imprisonment to dismissals. There are enough individuals and associations in India, who are capable of 'framing' the charges, if for nothing at least to justify their own existence. India continues to be an easy prey of Amnesty International, Asia Watch and such other international organisations for alleged violation of human rights. No notice is taken of the fact that India is a country with an independent judiciary, a free press and democratically-elected Government with a constitutional mandate to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation. Surprisingly, there is not even mention of



human rights of the innocent victims of terrorism. No single country or a group of countries can claim exclusive competence or particular qualification in addressing the human rights issue. It could be naive to expect an identity of views among all nations. The issue of human rights is both individual and of universal concern. Just as we must reject shackles on the exercise of civil and political rights, so must we reject situations in which poverty and want are treated as being irrelevant to the enjoyment of human rights. The world must realise that single most important threat today to the enjoyment of human rights comes from terrorism. Progressive realisation of human rights can come only through an understanding of the context in which the supposed and assumed violations have taken place.

Terrorism is a heinous crime against humanity. By spreading terror and panic among people it hits at the very roots of democracy. Terrorism is a phenomenon which every society cherishing democratic way of life is duty bound to fight against. However, laudable one might find the objective of any militant groups, adoption of terror as a means to press for the attainment of that objective is abhorrent. And when it is given patronage, terrorism becomes a menace which should be countered by all means. It is absolutely necessary to understand that it would be a total negation of the very concept of human rights to allege violation of human rights when action is taken to curb indiscriminate terrorist and extremist violence. Indian culture and human rights are almost synonymous. We cannot have a situation in which human rights are seen to be the preserve of the practitioners of terrorism and secession while those dealing with the menace courageously in extremely difficult circumstances are falsely condemned for violation of human rights. Terrorism is one of the most menacing problem of our times. It is driving national and international dissent into barbarous channels and posing a serious threat to fear-free society. Despite wide media coverage, public knowledge about it remains superficial. Terrorism could be described as 'a war of attrition by invisible armies.' Essentially, it is 'low-tech, low-cost and high result route to world-wide audience'. While terrorists are not pathological lepers or products of narcissistic rage and they are applauded by their supporters as 'freedom fighters' and 'commandos for justice', the fundamental reality is that terrorism is a bloody and brutal phenomenon which is saturated with criminality, and which shows a savage disregard for human values. The 'ceremony of innocence' is invariably drowned'. No grand design of human freedom, no moral quibblings or relativism can hid the inherent bestiality of a terrorist act. As Andrie



Sakhrov says: "No matter how the aim predicated by the terrorist ... their activities are always criminal, always destructive throwing human-kind back to the time of lawlessness and chaos." The idea that one person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries do not blow up buses carrying innocent citizens. Freedom fighters do not assassinate innocent businessmen or hijack and hold hostage innocent men, women and children. It is disgrace that democracies should allow the treasured word "freedom" to be associated with acts of terrorists. Equally pitiless is the inner structure of a terrorist organisation. There is nothing more fascist, more authoritarian, than a terrorist network. Once an individual gets into it, he cannot walk out. Exit is possible only via the graveyard. A telling feature of contemporary terrorism is its disproportionate potency and effectiveness. Lethal weapons have placed immense power of intimidation, coercion and destruction in a few hands. Fear of the use of atomic, biological and chemical weapons also lurks in the mind. A single terrorist act can paralyse all the vital organs of a State and render it helpless howsoever powerful it might be. When on TWA flight 847 from Athens to Rome on June 4, 1985, President Reagan was forced to acknowledge that terrorists held "all the cards". In addition to drugs, the terrorists also take lives.

There is need to put strong and sustained pressure on the terrorists and their collaborators, denying them extra supply of oxygen through publicity and spurious human rights bodies, treating the situation as low-intensity war, organising counter-guerilla groups, blocking effectively the supply lines of the adversaries, preventing the flow of State resources to the terrorists, identifying and removing subversive elements from Government and semi-government organisations, prosecuting speedily through designated courts, providing honourable line of retreat and launching an educational blitz through media about the ultimate futility of violence, exhibiting a united national will and maintaining a consistent national will. The world was created by deeds not by words and it is only the strong that can afford to be just. Neither the hamlets of the nation nor the armchair intellectuals can save it from slipping into organised anarchy.

Terrorism in Kashmir has features of its own. it is distinct alloy a subtle mix of different elements taken from diverse sources. The traditions of militancy are selectively used and doctored to subserve the overall design. The cue for extensive use of clergy and the mosque is taken from Iranian pattern. The United States Policy for countering terrorism internally is not to make any distinction between terrorist groups on the basis either of the professed objective or identity of a particular group



perpetrating terrorist crime. This line is equally valid for combating international terrorism. The struggle against international terrorism is principled one, of universal import and any selective approach in this struggle is most likely to prove self-defeating. The active role being played by Pakistan in Indian States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir should be clear now even to those who do not wish to see it. Secessionist elements from Punjab and Kashmir are not only given shelter in Pakistan but some of their leaders are extended all hospitality. They are not only allowed to guide terrorist activities from Pakistan but also extended moral, monetary and military assistance. A large number of camps are being run in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and in Pakistan itself by official agencies where misguided youth from Kashmir are indoctrinated and given training in the use of sophisticated arms and explosives. Pakistani soldiers posted along the border help these trained terrorists in surreptitiously entering into India. Even regular Pakistani troops enter into Kashmir in disguise to guide them in unleashing violence on large-scale. In the light of these facts any isolated effort to check terrorist activity directed against India from Pakistan would be futile. It cannot countenance Pakistan's active and protracted involvement in spreading terrorism in India. During the course of present insurgency so far, 7000 Kalashnikov rifles, 400 machine guns, 400 rocket launchers, 1000 rockets, 7000 grenades, 2000 pistols and revolvers and thousands of mines have been seized in operations which saw 500 security personnel killed. All this has come from Pakistan. The joint American-Russian study Mission (which included Prof. Stephen Cohen and Prof. Leo Rose) has said on the issue of Pakistani aid to Kashmiri extremists: "According to foreign sources" it said "some 60 such camps (for training terrorists) exist in Pakistan; half of them are situated in Azad Kashmir (i.e. ,Pak Occupied Kashmir and half on Pakistan territory. Training was reportedly carried out by Pakistani Military men, mostly retired... In some camps they were assisted by Afghan mujahideen from the Hikmatyar group with the co-operation of Pakistan Inter Services Intelligence Agency ..... There is also evidence that some Kashmiri muslims fought alongside the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. After the rebel victory at Khost in April, 1991 Journalists identified about 500 Kashmiris who had taken part in the battle. Even the leaders of the main separatist groups have undercut Pakistani statements about the spontaneous nature of the event in Kashmir. For example, the leader of J&K. Liberation Front ,Aman-ullah Khan disclosed in January, 1990, that the protest in Kashmir had been carefully planned and supported by well-trained armed insurgents







ment in sponsoring terrorism in India was noticeable. The same consideration kept the U.S. silent over Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear bomb. Now the cold war has ended. United States is the only super power rather supreme power in the world and she is contemplating to evolve a new world order. Whatever is attempted to be given to the future world system, it is beyond doubt that there can be no place for terrorism in it. Therefore, time is struck that Pakistan must be included in the list of countries which support international terrorism and made to face the consequences. In Pakistan's relations with America, the India factor looms as a larger than life phenomenon. The *raison d'etre* for Pakistan cultivating the U.S. is to work the zero sum equation vis-a-vis India in their favour. Pakistan-U.S. relations have no independent variables which could help build up their bilateral relations. Come any Government, Pakistan's abssession will continue especially among its elite. Dirty tricks and covert destabilisation tactics under the facade of giving "moral help to the Kashmiri's cause of self determination", or even pretending helplessness.

According to a CIA Report titled "Heroin in Pakistan: sowing the Wind", Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif's son-in-Law, Sohali Zia Butt is a key figure in a heroin smuggling ring, some of whose earnings are used by the Inter-Services Intelligence to finance terrorists in Kashmir and Punjab. According to U.S. Officials, it was after reading the Intelligence documents that President Bill Clinton gave Islamabad four to six months to disprove the Indian and CIA charge that it is providing arms, training and financial aid to Sikh and Kashmiri terrorists. The President's message was in a letter delivered when he was still President-elect on January 7, 1993 to Pakistan's Foreign office by the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Mr John Manjo. In his testimony before the House Asia and Pacific Sub-Committee on April 28, 1993, Mr John Mallot, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in charge of South Asian Affairs said: "In Jammu and Kashmir, militants have launched in insurgency and are resorting to terrorist attacks." According to the Co-ordinator for Counter-Terrorism in the State Department, Mr Thomas McNamara in his testimony to the U.S. Sub-Committee on International Security, "State sponsorship of terrorism includes providing intelligence support, funding, travel documents, safe havens from prosecution etc. Pakistan is taking pride in being involved in all these in regard to Kashmir. Then why hesitation to name it as a terrorist State?" The only reason which comes to the fore is that terrorism from Pakistan has so far been directed against India while other countries which have been named as terrorist States, largely target U.S. citizens and U.S. property. A Kashmiri Mus-



lim terrorist name given as Mohammad Yusuf Shah, belonging to Jammat-i-Islami affiliated Hizb-ul-Mujahideen hijacked an Indian Airlines Plane which was on its usual flight from Delhi to Srinagar on April 25, 1993. When the Security forces (Commandos) over-powered and killed the hijacker and eleven hour ordeal of 141 passengers and crew ended, a Kashmiri Muslim passenger, syed Ily of Srinagar exclaimed: "The Commandos were a Farishta (Angels) sent by Allah to save the passengers". But we may soon come across an accusation from some Human Rights Organisation in India squarely blaming the Commandos for having killed the hijacker. Presently they are silent because all the Muslim passengers from the Kashmir Valley have praised the Commandos.

U.S.A. and India are the two democracies in the world. India is a vast country with huge population. The task of protecting India's borders is gigantic. To maintain internal order within the democratic parameters is not an easy task. Additionally, India is not only surrounded by two Islamic countries from East and the West but also nearer to the rest of the Islamic world - both "Arab" and "Ajjam". Within its own population a sizeable section consists of Muslims, some among them may be vulnerable to propaganda emanating from various fundamentalist agencies operating in "Arab" and "Ajjam", not necessarily from Governments there. India is required to keep a watch to ensure that its nationhood and democratic form are not impaired in any manner. Great American people are expected to appreciate India's difficulties in this regard. America has its own experience of how nations are threatened, A great American President, Abraham Lincoln preferred to face a civil war instead of compromising on the basic issue. When in 1962, Nikita Khrushchev of Soviet Union decided to have nuclear missiles in Cuba for Cuba's security as he put it, another great American President, a pacifist, John F. Kennedy announced that these missiles would be a threat to America's security. He ordered whole-sale blockade of Cuba and made it clear that in no circumstances will America allow even an indirect threat to its security come what may. The Soviet Union silently cancelled all its Plans. Kennedy made it clear that world peace or any such thing was only secondary and that his prime concern was the security of United States of America.

If great majority of Muslims in Kashmir were for Pakistan, India cannot help them in any way to achieve their aim. It is also a fact that great majority of people in Mississippi and Alabama want their States to get out of the U.S.A. Can U.S.A. agree to their demand ? Never. The U.S.A. is a sovereign state and its Constitution does not permit secession. It fought a civil war to prevent Southern States from seceding. It cannot permit any



state to secede regardless of the wishes of its people. Kashmir is of utmost importance to India for her national security and India is proud to follow the ideals of great American Presidents in this regard. India cannot agree to the so-called demand for self-determination for Kashmir just as the British would not do so in regard to Bradford even though it is Muslim-dominated area. Pakistan has been putting forward a fantastic theory that after all Kashmir is not to India like other states. It is a "disputed" state. By a clever and vigorous propaganda blitz, Pakistan has succeeded in getting credence for this view in many circles. India was the complainant before the United Nations. The offer of Plebescite was made by India itself as a bridge, if Pakistan could help in clearing all the raiders and armed gangs from the entire territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. But instead of doing so Pakistan inducted its own army into the State and also handed over a very strategic part of the State to China under a formal bilateral Agreement. It annexed major areas of the State to its own country directly. It has earmarked just two small districts of Muzaffarabad and Mirpur as a show piece with a puppet Government and calls it "Azad" Kashmir to use as a tool to harass India. Wherefrom did Pakistan get authority to do all this ? Now it has the cheek to say that India has not implemented the U.N. resolutions. First things have to come first. India cannot stand for decades holding its breath. Can Pakistan or anybody, who calls Kashmir a "disputed" area, produce a single document in which U.N. has held that Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India is not legal and constitutional and that accession should be undone ? Kashmir is not before International Court of Justice as to make it sub-judice. India's sovereignty over Kashmir has never been questioned by the U.N.

Unwilling to vacate the areas under its occupation, Pakistan entered into a bilateral Agreement with India at Shimla where it persuaded India to agree to terminate the U.N. involvement in Kashmir, by demolishing the Cease-fire line, which was basic to the U.N. resolutions. This bilateral agreement known as Shimla Agreement was ratified by the Pakistan National Assembly, India's Parliament and the United Nations. Law of Treaties does not permit U.N. intervention. If Pakistan is not in a mood to honour the Shimla Agreement, India will be justified to reciprocate by throwing out the Canal Waters Agreement. The countries cannot afford to behave as Pakistan does. They have to be civilised. In desperation, Pakistan has now resorted to religion. It now talks of Kashmiri Muslims rights, Muslim Ummat-e-Islamia, Momin-ul-Alam, Jihad, Islamic Conference and "Arab" "Ajjam". These religious slogans are bound to drag the world back to barbaric medieval times. Saner



elements in Pakistan, in fact, everywhere in the world, should take note of the fact that if a religious drug is used in Kashmir, it will result in turmoil and bloodshed in the whole sub-continent. It is in the interests of entire population of the sub-continent that the polity is allowed to develop on modern lines so that the major question of poverty and ignorance is tackled quickly and exclusively.

In may, 1992 the whole world was shocked to witness the horrible incidents in Los Angeles in America. A 25 year old black motorist, Rodney G. King was mercilessly struck 56 times with sticks and repeatedly kicked by police officers. The four white police officials involved in this were acquitted by a jury (all white). There were widespread protests in which 51 persons were killed and property estimated at over a billion dollars was destroyed. What was the reaction of U.S. Government? In a television address to the nation, President Bush termed these riots "not as a message of protest, but the brutality of the mob, pure and simple". Although far off from its borders America fought Vietnam war in support of its foreign policy even though it brought untold misery to people there. America had to "liberate" the people of Panama from the dictatorship of General Manuel Noreiga in December, 1989. On his 69th birthday when President George Bush visited Panama on 11th June 1992, he was forced to flee for safety. But President Noreiga had to be arrested for the security of U.S. The common civilians of Iraq, who may have never liked the policies of Saddam Hussain were denied essential medicines as a result of Gulf war. All this was done in defence of America's security and restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty. America was right in demanding the two libyians for their alleged shooting down of the Pan American Plane, for trial in America. On 31st June, 1992, it was announced in Washington that the United States had frozen \$260 million in Libyan cash assets in U.S. Banks as part of its effort to punish the country for its support of international terrorism. The Treasury blocked the money after a series of cash transfers through the New Yorks Branch of the Arab Banking Corporation were identified as linked to Libya. It is within America's right to black-list ISRO, as a matter of policy. We leave it to great American people to judge the actions of Dan Burtan and others, who indulge in pin-pricks and brick-bats on India when she is facing unprecedented Islamic fundamentalism which has posed a challenge to her very survival as a nation. China has embarked on the demographic and ethnic cleansing of Tibet aiming at obliterating the Tibetan identity. The U.S. is maintaining a deafening silences on this open and gruesome act and violation of human rights in brazenly annexed Tibet. This is being done for reasons of American Economic and political interests.



At the earth summit at Rio-de-Janario (Brazil), which was held in the middle of 1992. there was sustained criticism from almost all the countries of the U.S. stand on environmental issues. The U.S. stood, more or less, isolated. These countries supported the Treaties that Washington found unacceptable. The American Government struck back calling the summit a "Circus of Bush-bashing". American officials in their press comments particularly chastised Germany and Japan. President Bush, in his statements, defending his record on environment arguing that he cannot ignore the American workers interest in judging the international conventions that are being presented in RIO. The U.S.A. refused to sign the biodiversity treaty. A U.S. official told Washington Post: "these countries need a shot across the bow. They are taking a holier than thou attitude."

Thus, America used its own wisdom in the interests of its own people and the country. There should similarly be no criticism when India uses her own wisdom in dealing with armed struggle with foreign support and persuasion, to smash and break into pieces India's nationhood itself. Sermonising how our security forces should perform their duty exhibits "holier than thou attitude". America did not sign the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. (UNCED-92). Iraq-gate scandal revived the controversy over the role of the Bush Administration in pre-Gulf war years in backing Saddam Hussain with billions of dollars aid until the invasion of Kuwait in August, 1990. In November, 1989, a one billion dollar Commodity Credit Corporation agricultural loan guarantees aid to Iraq was provided. There was evidence of fraud and corruption in the programme and the fact that prior extensions of credit had been diverted to military purposes. Certain aspects of this affair bear the marks of a major scandal. Documents revealed that a national security directive known as NSD-26 reportedly signed by President Bush in October, 1989, had urged non-lethal assistance to Iraq. The directive had revealed that Bush had advocated a conciliatory policy towards Iraq in the interests of normal relations between the U.S. and Iraq and serve long-term interests and promote stability in both the Gulf and the Middle-East. U.S. support to Iraq prior to Gulf war has been defended on strategic interests of the U.S.

There is ample evidence to suggest that there are some strong forces in the economic and political fields, who do not like the idea of India becoming a great modern country. Many subtle attempts are being made to thwart India's economic development. Environment bogey is raised to hamper India's development. Here it will be relevant to give example of



Narmada Project. This project and others like it have the potential of putting India into industrial stardom. A study conducted in 1979 by the Fusion Energy Foundation showed that the key to India's development was the huge task of harnessing the country's gigantic water resources to break the Centuries old cycle of droughts and floods that stood in the way of modern agriculture. The study estimated that the development of India's water resources would cost about 200 billion dollars over 30-year period. It would raise India's electricity-generating capacity from 8000 to more than 40,000 megawatts. The study also showed that India's grain production could be increased to well beyond one billion tons per year. With the necessary inputs of fertilizers and mechanisation, India could become the granary of the world with its 170 million irrigated acres. The thirty years plan envisaged the constructin of a network of dams, reservoirs, canal systems and nuclear industrial centres known as nuplexes, which would combine nuclear energy and agro-industries. There are those who feel uneasy at India reaching its potential. After all, India has a strong population base, technical man-power and scientific expertise to become a great developed country. China has a similar potential. No wonder, that the great developed, industrial, affluent world gangs up on India, trying to prevent her foray into the fields of nuclear research, missiles and space. Those who have clumbed on the prosperity bandwagon do not want too many others to get on. First there was Bradford Morse Committee appointed by the World Bank itself which prepared a partisan report. Subsequently there was another report prepared by another Human Rights Panel led by Christ A. Wold, Attorney, Centre for International Environmental Law in Washington which was submitted to coincide with the meeting of the Board of Direrctors of the World Bank which was held on 15th October, 1992. The report apprehended threat of violence in the affected villages. The report wanted each person's human rights to be protected. It feared that 300 to 600 houses might be submerged during the next monsoons.

So sob stories were spread about the Narmada Project by the hidden hands and these have been surfacing for quite a number of years. The hear-wrenching details of how poor tribals who have had lived for decades in simple pastral co-existence with nature, were being cruelly and forcibly uprooted to accommodate the dams and canals that would make up the Narmada Project. India was faced with barrages of criticism from every corner of the globe that one began to wonder how the "poor", "simple" tribals were managing to mount such a world-wide campaign. Obviously, there had to be powerful forces behind the effort. The target



of publicity were particularly the countries that were on the donor's list of those assisting India's development. Asia Watch, India's old bate noire, called on the United States and other aid donors to press the World Bank to suspend funding of the Narmada Project on account of " human rights violation ". Asia Watch has been patronising terrorists both in Punjab and Kashmir through a vast network of large number of watchmen in this country perhaps well looked after. As in the case of Punjab and Kashmir, these "sponsored" human rights organisations have been spreading falsehood about Naramda Project. They have alleged that one lakh persons would be forcibly displaced by the reserviore. While the fact is half the polpulation has already shifted voluntarily from Jal Sindhi village in Madhya Pradesh to Gujarat and are enjoying double benefit. They have taken over the alloted land plus adequate cash compensation. Both the state Governments of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh are doing everything possible even trying to do imposible to make life worth-living for all those who will be affected. They are people of this country who have every right to get whatever they need. Does India require sermons how to treat its own people ? India is a democracy which is run by these people as much as by others. Should India leave tribal population to wallow in their poverty in the name of tribal culture ? Should tribals always be treated as "museum pieces or zoo inmates"? Are they not entitled to good life ? The anti-Narmada dam lobby has been receiving heapes of literature which is produced and printed abroad. This is being distributed in very large quantity both outside and inside the country. The review team headed by Mr Morse, has as anticipated, opposed the construction of the dam. Exceeding its terms of reference, it has asked the world bank to obandone the project. Strangely enough, the team has made comments on the country's cultural norms, federal structure, development pattern and even judiciary. Even before the Central or concerned state Governments had any inkling, the report was first made available to the 'Narmada Bachao Andolan' people and was reported to have been simultaneously faxed to its offices at Bombay, New Delhi and Vadodara and press conferences were held at these places. Government has very correctly announced that the Project will be completed without World Bank Aid.

Sovereignty and national priorities of Member States of United Nations should be kept in view while taking measures for the preservation of environment. The implementation of conventions must not impose burdens on developing states or attempt to regulate their economic activity. Environment problems could not be seen in isolation and the basic development needs of the developing countries must be fulfilled before



environmental concern takes precedence over other concerns. India is poor backward country: reeling under the burden of international debts. India has a rich supply of skilled man-power and managerial talent and a strong scientific and industrial base. But the joint enterprise of India's self-appointed human rightists and environmentalists some pretending to be Gandhians and the World Bank and multi-nationals combine was all set to deny India any development of industry, water resources and power generation. It has to be appreciated that the task of rebuilding India is awesome. A correspondent wrote to Gandhiji through "Harijan" of January 11, 1936: "Don't you think that it is impossible to achieve any great reform without winning political power. The present economic structure has got to be tackled. No reconstruction is possible without political reconstruction. I am afraid all this talk of polished and unpolished rice, balanced diet and so on and so forth is mere moonshine."

There cannot be two opinions on the basic issue of human rights. Human rights both economic and political are complementary to each other. But the rich west has invariably been using the issue of human rights as an effective instrument of advancing its trading interests. It is shock for international civilised behaviour when in the name of human rights electoral advantages are sought. Muslim fundamentalists, wherever they are have the knack of creating pressure groups of casting their votes en-bloc. There are many Mirpur Muslims settled in England. They masquerade as Kashmiris. They had a sizeable segment of votes in the constituency of Mr Caulfman, who during the last Conservative Government was the shadow foreign Minister of Opposition Labour Party. He was pressurised to take up the issue of so called human rights violation in Kashmir. He did what he was asked to do by his constituents. Lord Avebury, Chairman of England's Parliamentary Human Rights Group, a known India-baiter suddenly presented a report in the first week of October, 1992 about so called human rights in Kashmir. The report merely maligned India rather than serving the cause of human rights. It was just a fling at deriving maximum publicity for the one-sided and biased presentation, undiluted by facts. Some two British journalists are reported to have been clandestinely sent to Kashmir for five days. Data was obtained from motivated anti-India elements. The two journalists could pretend that within five days they personally put together "lists of 200 persons who had died or disappeared" in custody during 1990-91 together the list of 195 people killed by troops and 34 who died in custody in July and August, 1992. Any honest and impartial journalist would have at least cross-checked the figures. Last year, unprecedented publicity



blitz against the Serbs was launched by the International media. The title like "Butcher of the Balkans" etc was only the beginning of vicious propaganda war against the Serbs. Reports by ham radio operators of torture by Serb armed forces have since proved baseless. Allegations of 'Canibalism' have like-wise been dismissed by the U.N. Refugee Commission. General Morillon entering Cerska was surprised to see no sign of alleged mass murder and starvation. While the Serb armed forces were squarely blamed, it has now surfaced that it were the armed hoodlums who looted and raped with immunity. The human rights groups were responsible for such pictures in magazines as Bosnian Muslims bleeding to death. Actually, it was other way round. The fact needs to be bluntly stated that what would once have been labelled as blatant meddling has assumed a dangerous dignity in the name of human rights and related issues like self-determination as against the principle of territorial integrity of states to belabour countries trying to survive, only worsen their economies and ultimately threaten their very existence as nations.

The U.S. has throughout been adopting a realistic foreign policy based on the perceived national interests of the United States. The principle of the defence of human rights cannot, therefore, be consistently applied in foreign policy because it is likely to come into conflict with the other interests that may be more important than the defence of human rights in a particular circumstance. William Clark, former Assistant to the American president had stated that "the Administration believes that a good strong America, an America whose national security is assured, is good for personal liberties throughout the world." Alexander Haig, former Secretary of state said: "First imperative of a human rights policy is to strengthen the United States; its allies and friends, the main safeguard against totalitarian aggression". It means at a given period allies and friends could include any country without consideration of its record as a democracy or upholder of human rights. The main objective is strengthening the United States. In 1974, the U.S. Congress adopted the Foreign Assistance Act of which Section 116 was designed to prohibit or restrict assistance to any Government "Which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violation of internationally-recognised human rights including torture or cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges or other flagrant denial of rights to life, liberty and the security of person". But in actual dealings, while taking decision on bilateral trade, the questionable record of human rights aspect of those States who were pro-west and anti-south, was overlooked. During President Carter's period, the U.S. Administration never



named any country for violation under the Foreign Assistance Act. Under President Reagan, U.S. bilateral foreign assistance was dominated by political military calculation.

In spite of the existence of the Foreign Assistance act, 1974, which linked foreign assistance with the performance on the human rights front of the receiving countries, aid was stepped up to the countries which trampled the human rights under their feet. Denial of free trial to Bhutto in early 1979 did not effect U.S. generosity towards Pakistan. Imagine, if Bhutto could be treated this way what would have been the fate of people of the common level under the federal and provincial administrations. After the military coup in Liberia in 1980, U.S. Economic assistance was increased by 800 per cent for 1981-85, Human Rights problems were left to the drawing rooms. British Government did not act differently. There is no evidence that British aid had anything to do with human rights angle. In fact, no Western country has allowed its aid programme to be affected by the human rights. Economic aid by Canada is rarely affected by human rights considerations and arms sale almost never. Reagan administration went all out to give aid to those countries whose violation of human rights was proverbial. When a democratic system was overthrown in a country, it expected an increase in U.S. economic and military aid. And it was rarely disappointed. President Clinton, during his election campaign, had severely criticised the Bush administration for failure to secure a credible improvement in China's human rights record by using trade as a lever. But he himself relegated his human idealism to the background and renewed. The most Favoured Nation Trading status for China. He has thus repeated what Bush had been doing year after year. His decision came immediately after Chinese troops had cracked down on peaceful and unarmed Tibetans. As a face-saving for Clinton, a few political prisoners were released in China. International diplomacy is indeed an act of possible. Altruism failed to make a dent on harsh reality. Priority was given to perceived U.S. strategic requirements and opportunity of potentially enormous market for the domestic business interests. No doubt, any number of pretexts will be presented. Some U.S. Congressmen will, of course continue to spew rhetoric but that will be directed towards soft targets and those who may dare to resist trade exploitation.

Did the U.S.A. really win the cold war when the reality is that Moscow lost it? All indications are that it is the Islamic fundamentalism which has been the winner. Islam is tumbling like an avalanch upon the 21st century, the tremors of which are being felt on all the continents.



Islamic fundamentalism is overtaking modernism in a big way. World is being pushed back to the stage where it was three hundred years before. One has only to watch the status of women in Iran to get the signals of new Islamic fundamentalism, if the present apathy of the West particularly America continues. Human rights, as these are understood at present will be the first casualty. Pan-Islamism as a political creed has been a threat to peace and moderation in International affairs in recent years in the same way as Kremlin controlled communism was for 40 years after second World war. This has once again been demonstrated by the five-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic Organisations in Karachi from April 26 to April 29, 1993. O.I.C. has fully supported Pakistan's armed interference in India's internal affairs in the name of Islamic solidarity. It is the direct result of America's pampering of feudalistic and fundamentalist countries like Soudi Arabia that these countries, which do not even understand the word meaning of human rights, have the temerity to criticise a country like India on this issue. Democratic West must consider the dangerous consequences of this revivalist thrust, which may result in the destruction of all that the world has achieved in this modern scientific age during the last few centuries. Evil has to be nipped in the bud and this is the historic responsibility of all modern democratic States particularly those of the West. Before World War-II Sir Winston Churchill was trying to arouse Western world to the on-coming catastrophe in Europe. He was belittled, laughed at, rebuffed and snubbed by all till the ruthless march of Adolf Hitler engulfed the whole of Europe. This lesson is timely as once again there is a great threat to the world peace of global phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism. Leave aside Asian and African countries, it is not surprising that in European countries, like Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, France, Britain and the United States too, Islamic fundamentalism is not allowing its followers to reconcile to be a part of national and social mainstream. An American scholar in international affairs recently wrote in a book that since the end of second World War, two cold wars raged at the same time. The East-West cold war and cold war between Islam and Christianity. Among the great religions of the world Islam alone is now restless.

A Human Rights Investigator, Felix Ermacora of Austria wrote in a Report to the General Assembly Commission on Human Rights on 25th November, 1992: "In Afghanistan, political uncertainty is increasing the risk of persecution of ethnic and religious minorities. There is no authority able to project human rights. Many people associated with the previous government are reportedly detained in interrogation centres to



which the Red Cross and U.N. Investigators are denied access". But Pakistan and Islamic countries are dumb on this. While the Islamic countries are busy reviving and coming together on the basis of religious fundamentalism, people continue to die all over the Islamic world either in prisons or because they are hungry - or both. About 20 lakh people are dying of hunger and another 25 lakh people are facing the bleak horizon of starvation in Somalia where the political State has lost all traces of legitimacy and authority. There the naked children are wobbling on spindly legs with the last flicker of life dying out in their eyes. Surprising is the apathy of Islamic crusaders whom the plight of dying Somalians does not move. Muslim Ummah or the OIC do not feel any sympathy for starving million in Somalia. Somalia is member of both Arab League and Organisation of Islamic countries. There two evenly-matched Muslim war-lords have brought disaster to the people. The food is rushed to them not by the petro-dollar rich Arab world but by the Christian West.

In our country artists and intellectuals branding themselves as friends of Cuba put up art exhibitions in Delhi to express their solidarity with the Marxist State. But the plight of three lakh uprooted Kashmiri Pandits did not move them. Our metro youth and others who joined loud crowds at the Amnesty International's rock show for human rights held in 1988 remained mute, silent and indifferent to the unprecedented human tragedy which overtook the entire minority population of the Kashmir Valley. The reasons for apathy and silence probably were it not being fashionable, "secular" and vote-drawing cause or may be that no multi-national company or petro-dollar agency took any interest in it. The human rights issue is too sensitive to be left to individuals or groups of individuals -- this country based or that country based. Some individuals use the human rights issue to settle personal scores with some Government functionaries as has happened in the case of Kashmir Valley when some Delhi based individuals went berserk and levelled and also beamed to foreign countries the wild, baseless and concocted allegations just to take personal revenge from the then Governor of the State, Shri Jagmohan. In India, the human rights organisations have shown that they can look only through communal glasses linked to petro-dollar pipelines. These people have ignored the gross human right violations against Kashmiri Hindus. Their silence was intriguing and put their credibility to shade. Old infirm, sick, semi-educated, uneducated Kashmiri Hindus who had never set foot outside their villages, have been hunted out and are passing the evening of their lives in the make-shift camps. Finding that its credibility has been tarnished due to its continuous dishing out of lies



and falsehood about Kashmir, the Asia Watch has just mentioned, in passing, the heinous crimes of Terrorists. In its report released in May 1993, it says (Pages 2,15 and 16) That it has found the militants guilty of rape, extortion, killing of innocent men and women leading to the flight of Hindus from the Kashmir Valley. This reference is only tactical just only to appear the rest of the report, which is full of lies and falsehood, as credible. It should not have taken three and a half years for Asia Watch to express this truth.

It is absolutely necessary to understand that it will be a total negation of the very concept of human rights to allege violation of human rights when action is taken to curb indiscriminate terrorist and extremist violence. Terrorism is tending to become an instrument of international diplomacy. Terrorist activities are becoming dangerous today with the advance in technological weapons and they may soon have nuclear weapons as sometime we do hear the news about theft of uranium.

While the menace of terrorism is increasing, Governments particularly of democratic countries are faced with a serious problem. In case Government do not take firm steps to curb terrorism, the life, liberty and rights of common people are always under threat. And if Government take firm steps then they are criticised for violation of human rights of some individual. India, for that matter any country, cannot tolerate the interference by one country in the affairs of the other in the name of human rights. This is violation of Charter of United Nations and established norms of International Law. Each country has to work within its own political system keeping in view its own national sovereignty. Terrorism has been named as "cancer of modern society" and "plague of the twentieth Century". It is puzzling as to what has persuaded Republican Congressmen, Mr Dan Burton of Indiana, Mr Wally Herger of California to be in the forefront of India-baiting. Human Rights Organisations have a lop-sided charter in that they assiduously compiled the lists of so-called human rights violations by the Government whereas they failed to say anything about the violence perpetrated by the terrorists. Their report failed to provide the contexts and gave the impression that the violations they alleged occurred in a vacuum. If some gentlemen have political scores to settle and do not accept the territorial jurisdiction of a country to a particular area, they are free to launch a political struggle as they like. But it is heinous and most immoral to misuse the sacred issue of human rights as a cover. We shall not be right in saying that Los Angeles riots show that human rights are still non-existent in the U.S.



Pakistan is spreading terrorism not only against India, which it considers as an inherent right, But also against many other countries including Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia. Pakistan is not only harbouring fundamentalist terrorists of the above countries but is also providing training to them. She also provides passports to these elements to enable them to go and operate in their countries. There are reported to be various such training centres in Peshawar and its neighbourhood where Egyptian Ayman El Zuwahri and Talaat Qassem have been allowed to run offices for co-ordinating activities of various terrorist groups. Both these persons are alleged to have been involved in the murder of Anwar sadaat of Egypt. The semi-official "Egypt Gazette" recently accused Pakistan of instigating extremists, The "Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen" popularly known as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, has close links with fundamentalist and extremist organisations in Pakistan, Some Sudanese elements are also being trained by Pakistan. The ISI of Pakistan is running its own drug mafia. In addition, activities of the Moro National Liberation Fornt of the Philipines received training from Jamaat-i-Islami and its close Afghan ally, Hizbe Islami. Likewise certain Pakistani parties are accused by Beijing of promoting Islamic fundamentalism in the Xinkiang province. On 2nd January, 1993, the Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan announced at Muzaffarabad that the Party would impart military training to over 3000 volunteers for fighting in Indian Kashmir.

On march 12, 1993, there were series of high-powered explosions at thirteen different crowded locations in Bombay in which at least 250 people were killed and over 1100 injured throwing the city in the cauldron of chaos and panic. The explosions turned people into cropses, vehicles into twisted metal and snuffed out joy in hundreds of houses. Earlier, on February 26, 1993, there was a blast in New York inside the twin-tower, Wrold Trade Centre which left five dead and many wounded. Between the blast at the World Trade Centre in New York and in Bombay, similar incidents had taken place in Egypt, Georgia and Kuwait. Almost all of them took place on Fridays and in each of them identical high-intensity explosives detonated through remote control, were utilised. It was widely held that in each of these blasts the ISI role was central and crucial. It is understood to have trained 5000 youths in the last five years. According to published reports the training is held in the mountains of NWFP and Bluchistan. After Bombay a severe blast has taken place in Calcutta. Rise of political Islam of Khomeini type and transnational Islamic bonds have undermined India's secuirty. On the same day, i.e. Friday the 12 th March, 1993, American expert of terrorism , Mr. Brian



Jenkins, in his testimony before a U.S. Congressional Committee, has linked Friday's bombings attacks in Bombay to a world-wide trend towards large-scale and indiscriminate violence. He told the Committee that there had been four car bombing incidents this week alone. The other three were reported from Northern Ireland, London and Berlin. "As terrorists increasingly indulge in this kind of large-scale indiscriminate attacks the problem that we face is that it is virtually impossible to prevent bombing in public places," he added. Mr Jenkins is a senior Managing Director of Crowe Associates, the leading private firm in the U.S. which deals with issues involving terrorism and counter terrorist measures. He said there had been hundreds of car bombing in the past 20 years. Some 80 percent of these had been reported in the past ten years. "The U.S. administration is carefully reviewing at the moment" whether to include Pakistan in its list of States responsible for sponsoring terrorism, a state Department official said. Testifying before Congressional Committee on the same day, i.e. 12th March, 1993, the co-ordinator for counter-terrorism in the State Department, Ambassador Thomas Monamara said in addition to Pakistan, Sudan was also under a careful review.

Tapes of exiled Egyptian fundamentalist Seikh Umar Rehman are said to be widely circulating among Arab militants in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The tapes urge Islamic militants the world over to declare holy war against enemies of the prophet and "hit hard and kill the enemies of god in every spot".

The British Government has told House of Commons on 12 th March, 1993 that it recognises that "Human rights abuses and tragedies in India have most certainly occurred through terrorism". The British Government stand was made clear by Mr Mark Lennox-Boyd, parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in reply to a question in the house. Mr Toby Jessel, who is chairman of the Indo-British Parliamentarians Groups said India should have "complete understanding and sympathy of the House" because India has an entirely exceptional problem with terrorism, which causes death and as the Indian Government are quick to investigate and punish acts of violence. Mr Lennox Boyd told Mr Jessel that terrorists are not accountable to the democratically-elected people, whereas Indian security forces are."

In early chapters it has been explained how insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir was launched from hospitals and medical institutional premises. Now, as an after-thought, to wash out the factual truth, the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) has joined Asia Watch and has released yet another one-sided report on the 'atrocities'



committed in Kashmir and the 58-page report entitled: "The crackdown in Kashmir: Torture of detainees and assaults on medical community", blames Indian security forces for targeting civilians in an effort to crush support for the guerrilla forces". Before making their comments, these two enlightened organisations should have thrown some light on how the guerrilla forces referred to in the report are operating in Kashmir. In October, 1992, says the report, Asia Watch and PHR sent a delegation to Kashmir to document human rights abuses and violations of the "laws of war" by the Indian security forces. Almost as an aside, the report also says that "they also investigated incidents of abuse by armed groups who have also attacked civilians." This lukewarm reference to the activities of Guerrillas has been made only with the intention of claiming objectivity instead of providing an actual picture of terrorism. Asia Watch has always claimed to be even-handed. PHR has described itself in the report as an organisation that "adheres to a policy of strict impartiality." Based on the report neither claim bears close scrutiny. The report devotes 18 pages to the violation by security forces but has filled just one and a half pages to "militant abuses," which included only two instances of atrocities by militants. The report admits that "Asia Watch and PHR are aware that many witnesses abused by either the security forces or the militants may have a motive to fabricate or exaggerate reports of abuse." But that does not prevent the two organisations from determining "that the Indian security forces have committed widespread and systematic human rights violations in Kashmir." This convincingly shows that this conclusion had been pre-determined. The Government had explained that exchanges of fire had taken place when terrorists fired on the security forces from hospital premises. "Without further information, PHR and Asia Watch are unable to comment on this incident," says the report. But in the very next sentence it adds without providing any evidence that "in many cases, however, the security forces routinely resort to lethal force even when circumstances do not warrant such action". Where Asia Watch and PHR have been most partisan is in their description of the Kashmir situation as "an armed conflict not of an international character," despite the Government of India's almost anguished depiction of the crisis as "an extremely aided proxy war of massive dimensions". When it has become a recognised international fact of life that Pakistan has been aiding and abetting the Kashmir militants with training arms and sanctuary. Asia Watch and PHR seem to have gone far beyond their human rights brief by opting to let Pakistan off the hook by ruling out the "international character" of the conflict.



Asia Watch and PHR must realise that usage of phrases like "laws of war" are completely misplaced in the Kashmir scenario where the Indian Security forces are struggling hard against many odds to curb the menace of typical militancy being fought by proxy by the enemy across the borders and which is directed both against the State and its civilian population. In such a treacherous situation, if the Indian security forces are fired upon from within the precincts of hospitals, what else can they do except shoot back. The terrorists in the Valley who are getting orders from across the border, maliciously choose vulnerable places like hospitals, schools or thickly populated areas for launching their attacks on the security forces with the sole aim of causing as much civilian losses as possible for gaining maximum propaganda mileage. The genuine object of investigation of an organisation of PHR should have been how hospitals had been converted into criminal dens by the terrorists and thus denied essential medical facilities to the common man. Even in an open war and intense hostilities, hospitals are meticulously kept out of the conflict. PHR should know for its record that the terrorists in the Kashmir Valley made hospitals particularly big Government hospitals, centres of collusive and conspiratorial activities. Practically, all the facilities of these hospitals were monopolised by the terrorists. They ate hospital food, they slept on hospital beds, they used the hospital stores for hiding their weapons; they sneaked into staff quarters whenever necessary and they escaped from the backyards through secretly charted routes.

It appears necessary to emphasise here that India will continue to be under pressure in one way or the other. Whether it is N.P.T., Defence expenditure or human rights. Idea is to take advantage of India's weakness and keep it perpetually weak. Whatever our media veterans, who appear to have monopolised the newspaper space, may say, as against our country, Pakistan has, by its competent diplomacy, earned security and is promoting national goals without fighting wars. India's bankrupt internal economic and foreign policy followed after our independence, has brought only misery to the people. A nation weakened by divisions at home and flaunting the begging bowl as a national symbol abroad cannot earn the esteem. Whatever the politicians might say, or the bureaucrats glibly rationalise, the nation which has got hooked to living on borrowed money, simply cannot have an independent policy whatever the sphere may be. The U.S. Administration has a solid case for declaring Pakistan a terrorist State. But still it is hesitant. Now Pakistan seems to be determined to use the Organisation of Islamic Countries to counter the American pressure against fuelling insurgency in Kashmir. Pakistan's



irredentism in this case is based entirely on religious fanaticism and is, hence, all the more pernicious. But it is very clear even to a lay man that America is not interested in considering a major foreign policy objective as the elimination of international terrorism on its own merit. It is trying to link it with other pending bilateral issues between India and the U.S. Otherwise it would not have rattled the Special 301 issue before it had taken any firm view in favour of India in regard to Pakistan's complicity in terrorism. It is possible the mental habits of U.S. think tanks have not changed. On taking over as President of America, Bill Clinton said; "when our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of international community defied, we will act with peaceful diplomacy when possible, with force when necessary." It means America considers its vital interests" and the will and conscience of the international community" as synonymous. An influential American columnist, Charles Krauthammer declared: "The most striking feature of the Post-cold war world is its unipolarity." He said that America must 'lead the world' unashamedly, laying down the rules of world order and being prepared to enforce them."

In his initial new zeal, Clinton had nominated Lani Cuinier as head of civil rights division of the justice Department as the Assistant Attorney-General. However, on reconsideration, he formally withdrew the nomination of Cuinier because she was considered to be believer in black minority voting rights and for giving blacks their legitimate rights. America's statistics on black unemployment, black prison population and so on are most discouraging. The U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher extensively visited the West-Asian region to convey Clinton's views on human rights. He was cold-shouldered. He returned and kept quiet. U.S. is now showing more interest in women's rights but does not mention it to her Arab allies, who are main defaulters in this regard. Christopher's subordinate official, John R. Mallot, instead of discussing the human rights issue with the Home Minister of India, warned India at a public meeting in New Delhi about violation of human rights. He said that America would have to take charges of India-Pakistan affairs -- "to push prod, cajole and encourage both countries to move beyond rhetoric to detente." He ordered India to give "genuine" access to human rights groups even as whole of Kashmir is declared a disputed territory by the U.S.

America has thus arrogated to herself the right to be overlord on Kashmir issue. On his return he again warned India from Washington. To trample down India, the U.S. intends to follow a "comprehensive, incremental and long-term approach to cap, then reduce and finally



eliminate weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery from the region." America is so much intoxicated with its own moral rhetoric that it considers subversion of national sovereignty of India as a very minor matter.

An America intoxicated with its own moral rhetoric with the feeling of having a proprietary right to run the world and assuming the role of the policeman of the universe, is probably a greater danger to peace than any other country in the world.

India must act effectively and put up a sustained fight on the media front. India should also not live in a fool's paradise and think that the sporadic incidents of India-bashing in the U.S. Congress are the work of a handful of anti-India legislators inspired by lunatic fringe of Indians, who are out to break the nation. That might well have been the way it began. The movement has grown and the votes in the Congress are getting uncomfortably close. Mr Dan Burton and his colleagues are making dramatic presentations in the U.S. Congress. This by itself will gradually raise the feeling that India is an oppressive regime without the rule of Law. India needs more than fire-fighting operation in the Capital Hill. The need of the hour is a well-thought-out true campaign to inform America's power elite of India's prospects, promises and capabilities and the commonalities of purposes and ideals between the two democracies. American Congressmen, who have become interested in Kashmir, on account of lobbying by some agencies sponsored indirectly by Pakistan in the name of Kashmiris, should consider how would they appreciate if some people outside America begin to talk about the problems of the black areas of New York or decide to send a peace envoy to the Mexican border to look into the problems of Hispanics. The point needs to be made to the great American people that India and U.S. share a basic interest in checking the spread of terrorist menace which not only kills and maims people and destroys property but is totally antithetical to democratic politics which both India and United States practise. Indeed, at a time when terrorism is increasingly global in its reach the ramifications, democratic countries like India and America must cooperate closely in preventing slaughter and protecting the values and political methods they swear by. In tackling terrorism, it is mandatory to isolate rogue nations declared or potential. That demands consistency as much from the U.S. as it does from other States.

In the first week of June, 1993, a global lengthy advertisement was inserted in newspapers on behalf of an official Organisation of Iran inviting entries to 'Satanic Conspiracy Caricature International Competi-



tion.' The advertisement asked for grotesque caricature of a writer of international repute already under official "fatwa" for being murdered. The caricature of Sulman Rushdie with the dotted line going across his neck with the note "please cut from here." If religious sentiments are hurt, are not human sentiments hurt by explicit caricature? Has humanity already surrendered before religious fanaticism? Organisation of Islamic countries, in truth, most members of this group are theocratic dictatorships and entirely feudal in character. their citizens do not enjoy freedom peculiar to democratic system such as ours. In fact, Muslims in India enjoy more freedom of speech and expression and are more safe and secure than in most of the member countries of OIC including Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is known to the world that the present rulers of Iran demolished and razed to the ground many Bahai temples in Iran and also massacred thousands of Bahais. The Zoroastrians too are persecuted and live in fear. The Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia not only do not allow building of temples and Gurdwaras but they do not allow Hindus to light 'diya' on Diwali or sing hymns and bhajans collectively or celebrate any Hindu festival in the traditional ways. Finding the Islamic countries bemoaning the violation of human rights, one is reminded of sighing by Alexander Pope:

*"Ignobly vain, impotently great."*

In Saudi Arabia, a human rights group was formed on 3rd May, 1993 under the Presidentship of Mohammad Massari. The group aimed at "eliminating injustice" and to "defend the rights prescribed by the Sharia (Islamic law) for Man." The Saudi Government obtained a "Fatwa" from religious leaders that setting up of a human rights committee was against Islamic Law. The members of the group were punished and its president, Mohammad Massari was arrested and jailed. No eyebrows were raised in the U.S. whose might sustains the Saudi regime.

The most important human right to be protected in the world in the present times is the human being's right to live in his own native home, hearth and environ, free from fear, harassment and discrimination. The U.N. sponsored Conference on human rights held in Vienna from June 14, 1993 to June 25, 1993 has proved a great disappointment in this regard. The Conference held after 25 years at the cost of nearly 10 million U.S. dollars was attended by about 10,000 participants, from 180 countries. With almost parallel meetings by non-government organisations and individual groups, the conference was turned into a jamboree. With the gathering ranging from football player Pele and former Rolling



stones Groupie Bianca Jagger to the world's busiest out-of-work actor Micheal York, the meet would have put any film festival to shame. N.G.Os. for the cause of human rights emerged about 20 years after the U.N. was formed. Instead of trying to influence the deliberations, the NGOs whose members had assembled in large numbers in Vienna, only were busy to attract attention to themselves. The Secretary-General of Amnesty International, Mr. Pierre Sane himself set the tone for confusion by not attending the inaugural function addressed by the U.N. Secretary-General, Boutros Ghali. The reason he gave was that a man was executed in Egypt the previous day and another execution was on cards in the ensuing week. The leaders associated with Amnesty International and similar organisations suffer from a superfeit of self-righteousness. Amnesty and the like bodies have failed to appreciate that the man executed in Cairo was one of the Islamic terrorists for whom the murder had been the main weapon. This man was duly tried in accordance with the Egyptian Law, found guilty and sentenced to death. Where does the question of human rights arise? The activities of Amnesty etc. purportedly for defending human rights will only result in destabilisation of nation-states. Politics of violence arises from a bewildering tangled skein of divisive forces and this makes the task of enforcing liberal values of any kind extremely difficult. Human Rights are linked to democratic polity. At present, human rights cause is being exploited to serve foreign-fuelled secessionism. The zealots of human rights have been encouraging dubious elements may be unwittingly to make their sacred mission successful, the human rightists should stop thinking that they are, in themselves, a super world government, and are operating in vacuum.

The double standards adopted on "human rights violations" and "atrocities by security forces" by the Human Rights Organisations as well as America and other countries have been exposed by the events in Somalia. When Pakistani troops under the U.N. Command fired into a crowd in Magadishu killing men, women and children, these troops were absolved of using excessive force on the plea that the crowd was acting as a "human shield" for gunmen hidden among them who fired on Pakistani-held positions. But that is exactly what happens in Kashmir. "Human shield" tactics have been utilised by the terrorists and there are sometimes casualties in the cross-fire.

*"Beauty like the contact lens, is in the eye of the beholder."*







## Appendix

### *A Peep into Macabre*

#### GRUESOME KILLINGS - A few cases (from January 1990 to June 1990)

1. Smt. Sheela Tikoo R/o Dalhsanyar, Srinagar, was shot dead on 1-11-1989 while crossing the Habba Kadal bridge, to go to her home.
2. Shri Ajay Kapoor of Sri Ranbir Gunj, Srinagar, was killed on 21- 1-1990. Two militants stepped into his shop and fired seven shots simultaneously upon him and Shri Kapoor fell in a pool of blood on his shop. He was killed despite the fact that he had a wide circle of Muslim friends and was very popular among the Muslims.
3. Shri M.L. Bhan of Oompora (at the outskirts of Srinagar) was travelling in a bus with his 12 year old son towards the city on 15- 1-1990. While the bus was plying, two terrorists who also had already boarded the same bus came close to Mr. Bhan and fired two shots at his temple. The assailants asked the bus driver to stop and then threw slain Shri Bhan on the road. His son fell upon his father weeping and wailing.
4. Shri Satish Tikoo of Karfali mohalla, Srinagar, was called out from his home on 2-2-1990 by some youngmen one of whom was his friend. After reaching at a corner in the lane of his vicinity they fired at him and fled away. The Muslim neighbours who learnt about the death of Shri Tikoo, in a gay way, passed remarks viz. "biakh ha khatovukh" (one more has been added to the score).
5. Shri Anil Bhan a bank Officer was on the morning of 17-2-1990, while purchasing vegetables at Habba-Kadal, kicked out from the crowd and then bullets sprayed into his body. "The militants continuously fired upon him to terrorize us crowd mainly Hindus" - narrated the frightened witnesses.
6. Shri Lassa Kaul, Director, Doordarshan, Srinagar was staying in his office premises for safety. One evening, in darkness, he went to his house to see his old parents, at Bemina colony, Srinagar. His father and mother were both sick. His father had been afflicted by paralysis. As soon as he reached house and came out of his vehicle, he was gunned down.



7. Shri T.K. Razdan was shot dead on 12-2-1990 near Gawkadal, Srinagar by the terrorists. Then his dead body dragged through streets upto a mosque near Sathoo and kept for display there.
8. Shri Ashok Kumar Qazi was dragged into a lane from the main road of Tankipora on 24-2-1990. The assaulters broke his legs, bet him with rods and sticks and left him in the drain crying and gasping for breath. After some time the assaulters came on the spot again and fired on Shri Qazi with their guns to end his life.
9. Shri Balkrishna Ganjoo, a telecommunication Engineer of Srinagar was peeping through the second floor window of his house just to see what was happening. He spotted a gun-totting youngman menacingly meeking at his naivety from the street below and immediately shut all the doors and windows of his house. But the terrorists broke the ground floor window and went inside the house to be confronted by Ganju's wife who by now had persuaded her husband to conceal himself in a drum used for storing rice. The gun-wielding terrorist looked around every nook and corner of the house before going upto the third floor attic, usually used for dumping stocks. He opened lid of the drum and pumped all the bullets in Ganjoo's body. The terrorist came down triumphantly in full public view. The drum had rolled over towards stairs. All his Muslims neighbour who had persuaded him not to migrate, turned their eyes other way. Even the doctors at the Government hospital (SMHS) refused to attend him not even to issue a death certificate. His body had to be taken to Rainwari six kilometers away for post-mortem and death certificate.
10. Naveen Sapru a telecom inspector was shot dead on 27-2-1990 on the main road in broad day light and the terrorists and the Muslim residents of the locality (Kania-Kadal, Srinagar) rejoiced over his dead body. Some youngmen of the locality danced round the corpse throwing "Shireen" ( sugar balls) in the air.
11. Shri Kapoor, owner of Vikas Bakery in Chota Bazar, Srinagar , who was shot at by the terrorists on 19-3-1990 at his shop , was injured and was taken to nearby Govt. SMHS hospital. The doctors on Emergency duty did not attend to him at the behest of terrorists. He died for want of any treatment. In another incident the doctors in emergency asked the attendants of the victim Shri Shibhan Krishen to file report in the Police station before they could admit the bleeding patient for treatment. It took four hours to complete the formalities at the nearby police station. When the



- victim was brought back to the Hospital the doctors there could not be found. The victim died.
12. A Hindu doctor, Shri Shiban Krishan of Ali-Kadal, Srinagar dared to stay back in the valley as he had faith on the people of his area whom he had been serving affectionately. But he and his wife were killed in the presence of their two children of 10 and 8 years of age.
  13. The brutal and beastly acts of Muslim terrorists will put to shame even the tyrants of medieval ages. Mrs Sarla Bhat, a staff Nurse of Medical Institute, Soura, Srinagar was gang raped on 14-4-1990 and subsequently murdered. Her dead body was found on the road side at Lal Bazar Road, Srinagar.
  14. Miss Girja, a teacher of Bondipora was kidnapped from her school, gang-raped by terrorists, stripped naked on a band-saw and sliced to pieces alive.
  15. Shri V.S. Tiwari (from Madhya Pradesh), Shri Tapoo and Shri P. Shekhar (both from Bihar), the three young probationary officers of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, Srinagar, were abducted from Nishat, Srinagar and were kept as hostages in a nearby house which was later set ablaze by the terrorists. While Shri Tiwari and Tapoo were roasted alive, Shekhar survived for a short period in a military hospital to gasp for death.
  16. Shri P.N. Handoo, Asstt. Director Information was gunned down near his house at Bal Garden, Srinagar on 1-3-1990, while he was boarding vehicle for his office.
  17. Shri Pushkar Nath Kaul an Agriculture officers of Bijbehara came home late in the evening. When he sat for eating his meal after day's fasting of "Ashtami", three gunmen entered his house and took him away. After three days his body, full of bullets and burn scars was found hanging on a tree at Thajiwara village about four kilometres from Bijbehara.
  18. Pandit Sarwanand Kaul 'Premi' lived in village, soaf shali, of Anantnag district. The village is adjacent to tourist resort of Kokernag. Premi was a well-known scholar and a Kashmiri poet of great eminence. He had read Hindu scriptures including Upnishads. He had also studied Islamic scriptures. He had just completed the translation of Gita in English verse and was about to take up the translation of Holy Quran in Kashmiri verse. He was a Gandhian from his boyhood and was one of the few students whom Gandhiji had granted audience at Barzulla, Srinagar in the first week of August, 1947. He had the privilege of being in



personal correspondence with noted Gandhians Dharendra Mazumdar, and Vichitra Narain Sharma. He toured Punjab in connection with Khadi movement. Later as a teacher, thousands of Muslim boys had studied from him. As the area is predominantly Muslim, all his social welfare activities were for the Muslim masses. On April, 29, 1990, three terrorists entered his house and ordered the entire family to collect in one room. The terrorists ordered that they should collect all their valuables, gold, cash, pashmina garments, sarees and shawls in the room. The ornaments the women were wearing were torn off their bodies. Packing all these in an emptied suit-case they asked the frail and soft-spoken 64 year old Kaul to carry the suit case and follow them. Then fate intervened and Virendra Kaul, his 27 year old son volunteered to accompany his father, so that he could lead the old man back in the dark night. "Come on you too, if you so desire," they told Virendra. Both father and son were herded out of the house. What followed would put to shame even Hitler's secret agents. When the dead bodies were found after two days, the scene was appalling and nauseating. The place in between the two eye brows where Premi used to apply sandalwood mark, commonly known as "tilak" was found pierced by iron rod skin peeled off. found broken and eyes of both father and the son gouged out. They were later hanged and to be doubly sure shot too.

19. Shri Bhushan Lal Raina who worked in Medical Institute Soura, Srinagar, was killed at his house on ompora, district Badgam on 28-4-1990. Scared by terrorist violence in the valley, Raina had finally decided to leave Kashmir along with his mother. He had planned to leave on April 29 and started packing his belongings a day earlier. While he was busy, a group of terrorists gate-crashed into his house. Seeing them, the aged mother of Raina implored them to spare the life of her young son as he was about to be married. "You could kill me instead," she pleaded. But they did not listen to her. With a sharp pointed iron rod they pierced his skull, they dragged him out and nailed him to a tree after stripping him of his clothes. They killed him inch by inch while he begged to be shot.
20. Shri Niranjana Nath Kaul of village Krendigam near Bijbehara was a Forest Officer and was on short leave in his house. Some staff members working in his division came to his house in a departmental vehicle early in the morning. They wished him and told him that



the Divisional Forest Officer wished to talk to him urgently and was on the main road. He wanted to change clothes but was advised not to waste any time as the D.F.O. was in great hurry. Kaul accompanied them and was kidnapped. His dead body was traced after a few days in another village.

21. On February 8, 1990, at about 8'clock in the morning, two unarmed B.S.F. constables were shot dead by the terrorists near the BSF battalion headquarters in Chhanpura, Srinagar. At about 07-30 hours in the morning on January 25, 1990, Squadron Leader R.K. Khanna and three other officers of the IAF were killed and 10 officers injured by the terrorists. The officers were waiting for The IAF bus for going to duty. The terrorists who killed these officers had suddenly appeared from the J. & K. Armed Police outpost which was nearby.
22. Kamal Suri who was running a provision store in Srinagar was gunned down on March 14, 1990. He had been kidnapped a day earlier. The victim was released in the morning and again taken away to be killed in the evening.
23. On March 27, 1990, Praneet Sahni's mother, Indira had prayed the whole night for the welfare of her already dead son. His 19 year old wife, Upma, meanwhile awaited the promised honeymoon. "As soon as I return," Praneet had told her. He was scheduled to return the following day for what was to be the concluding religious ceremony of the month-old marriage. Upma was to be once again bedecked in bridal attire. What, however, arrived the next day escorted by a distraught father, R. K. Sahney, was a coffin carrying bullet ridden body of their only son.
24. On April, 10, 1990, tears failed Sushma Khera, wife of the H.M.T. General Manager, H.L. Khera. She had yet to fathom the reasons of the large crowds which thronged her husband who had just "returned home". Or the wreaths which lined the floor: "He needs rest... let him sleep" She is reported to have mumbled. At the cremation ground she watched her elder son, Bharat "doing something", while Manish stood silently. She must get back. Her husband would be awake and waiting. She got up ...Meanwhile, Bharat consigned his father's body to the flames. His grief has turned into anger: "These terrorists ...", he swore under his breath. H.L. Khera who was managing the H.M.T. factory at Srinagar against great odds had been kidnapped along with his armed guard, tortured for three days and then killed. His mutilated



dead body was left on the main Srinagar-Baramulla Road near Batmalloo.

25. On April 11, 1990. "my father," said Arshi, the youngest daughter of Professor Mushir-Ul-Haq, vice -chancellor of Kashmir University, "is coming home". Relatives tried to take her inside but she refused: "I will wait for him here". She insisted, "in the Varanda as always..". Her father did return home but not as always. He was carried on shoulders of several people. Her mother, safia Mushfiq, meanwhile, slept soundly. She was under heavy sedation. She was yet to learn that her God had failed her. She was yet to learn that her husband had been killed. Being a devout Muslim what was the fault of Mushir-Ul-Haq. When the Jammait-i-Islami linked members of staff and students of the Kashmir University were destroying non-Islamic books of the University Library, the Vice Chancellor had sent a courteous request through his Secretary, Abdul Ghani not to weed out books written by Mahatma Gandhi. Since then he as well as his Secretary appear to have been on the hit list.
26. Shri Makhan Lal Raina (Thaploo) an innocent ordinary shop-keeper near Lal Chowk, Anantnag was murdered in the afternoon of 27th April, 1990. Also was seriously injured Pushkar Nath who was shopping in his shop at that time. As some Hindu families had still stayed back in Anantnag, Thaploo's murder was the last warning. The warning was heeded. And the town was cleared of the Hindus. Some renowned Professors of town who were proud of their muslim students and had therefore, declined to migrate, went running to Khannabal crossing to get hold of any transport for Jammu.
27. On 28-4-1990, Shri Prem Nath Tikkoo, Station House Officer of the Police Station, Dooru, Anantnag district was on duty inside the Police Station. The policemen on duty at the door informed him that somebody wanted him outside. He came out and was shot dead by the terrorists. On hearing of the murder of Police Officer at the Police Station itself, in broad-day light, in the presence of his own staff, the left-over Hindu families in the surrounding villages of Shahbad area, migrated to Jammu next day early in the morning.
28. Shri A. K. Raina, Dy. Director, Food & Supplies was killed in Srinagar on 20-3-1990 in his office chamber by the Muslim fundamentalists. Shri Raina fell into a pool of blood for hours together in his own office.



29. Shri J.N. Raina, Joint Director, Sericulture Department was also killed in his own office in Srinagar.
30. Dr. K.L. Ganju (40 years) Professor, Agriculture College, Sopore was killed on 7-5-1990. Dr Ganju had returned from Nepal along with his wife attending a Conference there. Two officials of the College were sent to receive him. And receive they did. Dragging him and his wife out of the vehicle, right in the middle of the bridge in Sopore they shot at him, threw the wounded man into river Jhelum to die. A young nephew of Ganju, who had also gone to receive them and was also with them, was given a choice. Either to jump into the river to which his uncle had been consigned or watch what they were going to do with his aunt. They counted "3" and the boy jumped into the river. The bullet-riddled body of Professor Ganju was found some days later in the down stream of the river, his wife was raped, gang-raped but nothing became known subsequently. Official reports said police had not been able to find out her body.
31. In village Mahind about 6 Kms. from Bijbehara, the local Area Commander of JKLF, Majeed, who belonged to Anantnag town, had persuaded Dwarika Nath not to migrate. Dwarika Nath had remained a tenant in Majeed's house in Anantnag for a number of years. They were very close family friends. On hearing that Majeed had come to the village in the morning, Dwarika Nath went to see him in a common friends house. Majeed again assured him not to bother about migration. None could touch him and he should remain free and happy. Dwarika Nath returned to his house and gave the good news to his wife. They now began to talk about the problems regarding their orchard and paddy fields etc. Hardly after one hour, a group of terrorists entered their house. Dwarika Nath decided to run away from the backside door of the house and inform Majeed. When he reached the rear door, he found Majeed standing with a gun. Dwarika Nath's wife who had followed him, on seeing Majeed, shouted "save us, save us" .. Majeed immediately took out his gun and killed Dwarika Nath instantly.
32. Shri Prediman Krishen Bhat was kidnapped from his home in Trehgam on 28-04-1990 and later his dead body was found mutilated by sharp-edge weapon injuries.
33. Shri Bansi Lal sapru of Gulab Bagh, Srinagar, was killed on 24-04-1990 by his known Muslims in the compound of his house.



34. Shri Ashok Kumar of Pulwama was kidnapped by the armed terrorists. They broke his limbs and then took him out on the main chowk of the road. He implored them for mercy. The militants took out his two eyes and threw him dead on the road.
35. Shri Bushan Lal Kaul of Srinagar was found dead on 16-05-1990. He was kidnapped by Muslim terrorists on 13-05-1990 from his house. After three days, his dead body with eyes impaled was traced out.
36. Shri Daya Krishen Duloo a retired Government employee of Chandpora, Nai Sarak, Srinagar, was in the morning of 12-05-1990 shot dead by Muslim terrorists in the lane of his house while he was going out to fetch vegetables from the market.
37. Shri Chuni Lal Shala's dead body was found on 2-5-1990 with many injuries and teeth broken in addition to bullet injuries.
38. Shri Mohan Lal of Gund Chekopora, Badgam district was gunned down on 4-5-1990 at about 6-30 p.m. He and his wife Smt. Mohini jeo were returning home after visiting the nearby house of a friend of them. On the road some masked gun men fired upon Shri Mohan Lal and his wife fell unconscious on hearing the gun shots and seeing her husband slain.
39. Shri Surendra Kumar Raina of Tulamula, Srinagar district was killed on 9-5-1990. A lift operator in the Institute of Medical sciences, soura, Srinagar did not return his home for two nights. Later the CRPF informed his parents that he had been killed by three bullets one in the shoulder, the other in heart and the third in the arm. Surinder was the only earning member of the family and had two unmarried sisters and a younger brother wholly dependent on him.
40. Shri Krishan Gopal Chauhan of U.P., a Central Government employee was gunned down near his house on the Beru-Badgam road while he was accompanying his little child to school.
41. Shri Man Mohan Bhat of Qazi Hamam, Baramulla, an employee of the Post Office was taken along on 18-5-1990 at about 11-30 p.m. by some Muslim friend. At about 5 p.m. the same day his dead body was thrown from a vehicle on the road near SBI building, Baramulla. He had many injuries on the muscles of his arms and knee caps and joints broken in addition to bullet injuries.
42. Four persons in a house at Bana Mohalla, Srinagar were killed by the terrorists who intruded into the house of Shri Jawahar Lal Ganjoo on 18-6-1990. The terrorists killed Shri Ganjoo along with



- his wife Smt. Prana. Another couple Shri Badri Kaul and Durga Kaul who too were in the same house, was also gunned down by the terrorists.
43. Shri Autar Krishan Safaya, an officer in J & K Bank was killed on 13-6-1990 at Srinagar.
  44. Sunil Kotru a teenager of Rainwari Srinagar was killed in the lawns of his house on 22-4-1990.
  45. Shri Brij Nath Koul of Herman, Shopian working as a driver with the Director, Agriculture Research Centre, Khudwani, district Anantnag was kidnapped from his house at Herman by his known people of Khudwani along with his wife, Sumitra ji. Sumitra was assaulted. Her husband, Brij Nath was tied by his legs on one end of a rope and the other end with the jeep in which the terrorists were travelling. They drew the vehicle for about 10kms. and when satisfied that shri koul had died, they left hem loose at Cheka Hajan on Kulgam-Shopian road. Sumitra was gang-raped and done to death afterwards.
  46. Shri Ramesh Kumar Raina of Rainawari, Srinagar, was kidnapped on 28-5-1990 from his house. His dead body was fished out from river 'Vitasta' (Jhelum) on 1-6-1990. Two little children and young wife were left behind wailing and weeping.
  47. Shri Dillep Kumar (29 years) of Mujemurgh near Zainapora, was kidnapped on 19-5-90 by five gun wielders. His dentures had been broken and 12 bullets pierced into his body. A note from the terrorists was found placed on his body saying "any one who dares to touch the dead body shall meet the same fate". His body was cremated by the CRPF on 21-5-1990.
  48. Shri Brij Nath Shah of Kupwara was killed by strangulation.
  49. Shri Bharat Bhushan Kaul, Ompora, Badgam was killed on 22-5-1990. His mouth had been stuffed by cloth and then hung from a tree with a slip attached. It announced that one lakh rupees shall be given to the person who dares to touch the dead body.
  50. Shri Chaman Lal Pandita, a teacher of Kawoosa, Badgam was killed on 20-5-1990. His Muslim neighbours had discouraged him from leaving the Valley. They had promised protection to his family. They had assured him that they would sacrifice their children for his protection. But at the time of misfortune which fell upon the family, nobody was seen.
  51. Shri Ashwani Kumar Garyali, Chattabal, Srinagar was killed on 24-6-1990. Along with him was killed his friend Shri Ashok



Kumar Kotha. Ashok Kumar died on the spot. Ashwani was still breathing. His father escaped to the police station in search of some vehicle to carry Ashwani to hospital. The SHO at the station taunted him by saying 'should we have got a helicopter for your son ?'

52. Shri Chaman Lal Koul of Chattabal, Srinagar was killed on 24-6-1990. Terrorist assailants were the same who had earlier on the same day killed Ashwani Kumar Garyali and Ashok Kumar Kotha. They kidnapped Chaman Lal Koul an employee in J.&K. Industries and Shri Som Nath Raina of Water Works Department and next day on 25-6-1990 dead bodies of both were found with stabbing marks. There were rope marks on their necks indicating strangulation.
53. Shri Bal Krishen Tutoo of Sheshiyar, Habbakadal, Srinagar was killed on 22-6-1990.
54. Sardar Man Mohan Singh Sodhi of Anantnag was killed, in his shop in one of the main Bazars of the town. His dead body was thrown at the main Chowk of Anantnag.
55. Professor Nil Kanth Raina, a leading academician was killed on 30-6-1990 at safa-kadal bridge, Srinagar.
56. Shri Raman Kumar Razdan of Naidyar, Rainawari, Srinagar was kidnapped on 22-6-1990. And two days after his dead body was found floating in the canal connecting the Dal Lake.
57. Kumari Babli, a student of Village Drusu (Pulwama district) was kidnapped from her home along with her mother Smt. Roopwati on 29-6-1990. The dead bodies of both were found on the road of the village the next day morning. Both had been molested and strangled.
58. Shri Triloki Nath Bhat of Srinagar was kidnapped on 10-6-1990 and on 12-6-1990 his dead body was found with many hot iron rod marks and blisters on the road near Sri Ranbir Ganj, Srinagar.
59. Shri Kanhaya Lal Bhat of Badgam was gagged and kidnapped from his house on 11-6-1990. Next day his dead body was found in the vicinity of his home.
60. Shri Jia Lal Kaw of Handwara was kidnapped along with his minor son on 18-5-1990. On 25-6-1990, the dead bodies of both were found with multiple injuries and tied together.
61. Shri Ved Lal Ganjoo, Principal, Government Degree College, Sopore was killed by the terrorists in his office chamber of College on 26-6-1990.



62. Dr Mrs, Sawhney was burnt alive in her house cum clinic at Karan Nagar, Srinagar on 18-6-1990.
63. Shri Suresh kumar Kisoo of Mohalla, Ragunath Mandir (Sona Masjid) Srinagar was brutally killed in his own lane on 17-5-1990 and then terrorists urinated on his dead body.
64. Shri Bhushan Lal Raina, an employee of Sheri Kashmir Medical Institute, Soura, Srinagar was killed on 26-4-1990 by hitting on his skull with a rod. While inflicting torture by slapping hitting on vital parts, the deceased had prayed the assaulters to shoot him instead of beating and thrashing on floor, but the terrorists replied that they would not waste a costly bullet, When the 'kafir' could be killed by other methods. They dragged him and nailed him to a tree after stripping of his clothes.
65. Shri Damodar Swarup Raina a 60 year old man picked up from his house in village Demdul (Anantnag district) on 2-6-1990. He was beaten. When his wife cried, tortured and killed but his body could not be traced. Next day, his son, Shri Brij Nath Raina who was away on duty, on hearing about kidnapping of his father, requested the Commandant of CRPF Unit at Anantnag for help. Accompanied by CRPF Jawans in their vehicle, he set out to trace the body of his father. But at village Frisal which is very near to Demdul, the CRPF vehicle was fired upon from all sides and Brij Nath Raina and couple of CRPF jawans were killed.

(The above cases of some of the gruesome killings took place from January, 1990 to June, 1990-- first six months of open insurgency. The killings continued thereafter).

*(MERA BHARAT MAHAN)*







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Gandhi Memorial College of Education, Baranasi  
**Shri Dhananath Raina** is a political analyst and author of 'Unhappy Kashmir'. He was born and educated in Kashmir. After Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in October, 1947, he worked for the cause of peace, harmony and economic emancipation for the rural population in the Kashmir Valley. He worked as a correspondent for a local newspaper in Srinagar. While his writings earned him applause from the common people, the political and bureaucratic vested interests felt uneasy due to exposure of their high-handedness and corruption. Unable to fix him for any specific charges but unwilling to allow him to function as a straightforward journalist, the ruling elite detained him as a political detenué in Central Jail, Srinagar for about six months. Later, he joined the national daily "Indian News Chronicle," Delhi. Shri Raina also worked in the Central Office of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, a new party formed by the veterans of freedom struggle, Acharya Kripalani, T. Prakasam, P. C. Ghosh, K. Kellapan and others. He also worked in Government. He is associated with many organisations in J. & K.

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